

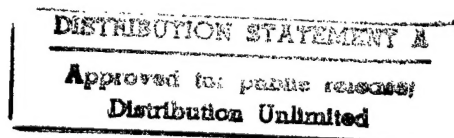
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19 September 1984

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
QUESTIONS, ANSWERS ON THE PARTY'S
ORGANIZATIONAL WORK



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19 September 1984

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

QUESTIONS, ANSWERS ON THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATIONAL WORK

Beijing DANG DI ZUZHI GONGZUO WENDA [QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATIONAL WORK] in Chinese Jan 83 pp 1-299

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periods. The general task of our party at the present stage is "to unite the people of all nationalities throughout the country in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology, and to make our country a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country." This is our party's political line in the new period.

The party's organizational line is determined by the party's political line. Generally speaking, a certain political line will yield a certain organizational line. Only by formulating a correct political line can we have a correct organizational line. An organizational line is an important guarantee for the realization of a political line. After determining a political line, we must still promote and guarantee the realization of that political line through the party's organizational work and cadres work. That is to say, we must conscientiously persevere in the principle of democratic centralism, implement a high level of centralism on the basis of a high level of democracy, strengthen organizational discipline, perfect the livelihood of the whole party, and maintain a high level of unity of the party ideologically and politically and consolidation and unity organizationally. We must correctly implement the party's cadres line and cadres policy, train, select and use cadres according to the criteria of having political integrity and ability, and send the most appropriate personnel to the various leading posts. We must abide by the criteria of choosing cadres who are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent in building well our leading groups and cadre ranks, and enable every cadre, in particular the leading cadres at various levels, to conscientiously execute his or her own duty and bring the core and leading role of cadres into full play. We must educate the whole party to preserve and give prominence to the party's fine tradition, bring into play the role of pioneer of the Communist Party member, establish close ties between the party and the masses and raise the combat ability of the party organization. Thus, we can see that, in a definite sense, the party's organizational line plays a decisive role in the realization of the party's political line.

3. What are the basic tasks of the organizational work of the party in the new period?

Answer: In the new historical period, the basic tasks of the organizational work of the party are to correctly implement the party's organizational line, strengthen the party's ideological construction, style construction and organizational construction, persevere in and improve the party leadership, raise the combat ability of the party and enable our party to become the strong core of leading the socialist modernization and to guarantee the realization of the party's political line organizationally.

Specifically, in the considerably prolonged period at present and in the future, we must work hard to realize the following tasks:

First, conscientiously implement democratic centralism, work hard to develop democracy inside the party and the people's democracy, implement a high level of centralism on the basis of a high level of democracy, strengthen

party discipline, perfect the socialist legal system, persevere in the system of party congresses at various levels and the system of people's congresses, conscientiously implement the principle of collective leadership, prohibit individual worship of any form and safeguard the further normalization of the political life of the party and country.

Second, conscientiously reform the structure of leadership and the leading organs. Eliminate overcentralization of power, excessive concurrent and secondary positions, overlapping organizations, lack of clarity of functions and duties, overstaffing, absence of division between party and government and other malpractices, overcome bureaucratism and raise efficiency in work. We must implement division of work between party and government, do a good job of the cooperation between old and new cadres and the replacement of old cadres by new cadres, and enable the leadership at various levels to continuously absorb fresh vitality, maintain vigor and bring the role of leadership into full play.

Third, actively and steadily reform the system of cadres. In accordance with the criteria of choosing cadres who are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent, continuously strengthen the building of the leading groups and cadre ranks, and build the leading groups at various levels into a thriving and vigorous, staunch and effective leading core which resolutely implements the party's line, principles and policies, which is united, which has a sound style of work and which is linked closely with the masses. We should set up a normalized system of training cadres, work hard to train cadres, swiftly raise the political and ideological consciousness, the cultural knowledge and business ability of the cadres, and prepare large numbers of specialized skilled personnel for socialist modernization.

Fourth, strengthen the education of party members and the management of party members, rectify party style and party organization, purify the party ranks, consolidate the party organizations, resolutely correct evil tendencies, work hard to strengthen the close ties between the party and the masses, bring into full play the role of vanguard of the party members and the role as combat bastion of the basic-level organizations.

4. What are the primary functions and duties of the party's organizational departments?

Answer: The party's organizational departments at various levels are the administrative departments of the party committees at various levels, and are the aids and counselors of the party committees in organizational work. Their primary functions and duties are:

(1) In accordance with the party's line, principles and policies and the instructions of the party committee, decide on, investigate and study concerned party principles and policies in organizational work, propose specific measures for implementing the party's organizational line, and conscientiously implement them after examination and approval by the party committee.

(2) Inspect and supervise the situation of how the party committees at lower levels implement democratic centralism, persevere in collective leadership and organize livelihood, sum up and introduce experiences, put forth opinions and measures of improvement and make reports to the party committee at the same level.

(3) Implement the party's cadre line and cadre policy, reform the cadre system, do a good job of cadre management, strengthen testing and understanding of cadres and make rational distribution and use of cadres. In light of the needs of the party's cause, work hard to train cadres and practically and realistically raise the quality of the cadre ranks.

(4) In accordance with the criteria of choosing cadres who are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent, readjust, equip and build the leading groups at various levels under the leadership of the central authorities and party committees at various levels. In accordance with the criteria of having political integrity and ability and the basic criteria for leading cadres, actively train and select outstanding middle-aged and young cadres to shoulder all kinds of leadership responsibilities, do a good job of exchange among cadres, and make the leading groups young, keen-witted and capable and full of combat vitality.

(5) In accordance with the concerned regulations of the central authorities, actively coordinate with concerned departments to conscientiously do a good job of managing, placing and taking care of the resigned [li xiu 7180 0128] and retiring cadres, so as to bring the latter's positive role into full play.

(6) Do a good job of educating party members and managing party members, do a good job of developing the work of party members, conscientiously do a good job of rectification and building of the basic-level party organizations, and continuously raise the quality of party members and the combat ability of the party organizations.

(7) Conscientiously implement the cadre policy and the policy on intellectuals and do a good job of the examination of cadres.

(8) Shoulder the responsibility of obtaining statistics on cadres and statistics on party members and manage properly the cadres dossiers and other documents.

(9) Accept and hear appeals from party members and cadres and handle properly the letters and visits from party members and cadres.

(10) Coordinate with the departments for inspecting discipline and do a good job of correcting party style.

5. What are the relationships between the organizational departments of party committees at higher levels and the organizational departments of party committees at lower levels?

Answer: The organizational departments of party committees at higher levels act as professional guidance to the organizational departments of party committees at lower levels. However, the relationship between them is not one of leader and the led.

Like the other departments of the party committees, the organizational departments of the party committees at various levels are the administrative departments in all aspects of professional work. They carry out work under the direct leadership of the party committee at the same level. As needed in work, the organizational departments of party committees at higher levels should offer professional guidance to organizational departments of party committees at lower levels. With the power entrusted to them by the party committees at the same level, the organizational departments of the party committees at various levels can propose decisive and directive-like opinions related to principles and policies to the organizational departments of party committees at lower levels.

The organizational departments of the party committees at various levels all carry out the party's organizational work under the leadership of the party committees of respective levels, and all share similar work and close ties. In order to make it convenient for launching work, the organizational departments of the party committees at higher and lower levels should maintain and strengthen their professional relationships. The organizational departments of the party committees at higher levels have the responsibility to render assistance and guidance professionally to the organizational departments of the party committees at lower levels. For instance, they should transmit without delay the spirit of the instructions of the central authorities and party committees at higher levels on the party's organizational work; convene conferences on studying and solving the problems in the party's organizational work; circulate the summary of work and plans for work of that department; investigate, understand, inspect and supervise the work of the organizational departments of the party committees at lower levels and make suggestions accordingly; organize the various localities and various departments to exchange experiences among themselves; answer and solve problems put forth by the organizational departments at lower levels, and so on and so forth. The organizational departments of party committees at lower levels should take the initiative to reflect the situation and report work to the organizational departments of party committees at higher levels, ask for instructions concerning problems in professional work, establish close professional ties with and obtain assistance and guidance from the organizational departments of party committees at higher levels, and do a good job of the party's organizational work together.

6. What work style and moral character should a cadre of the organizational department of the party committee possess?

Answer: A cadre of the party should have both political integrity and ability. In light of its tasks and characteristics, the organizational department of the party committee asks of its cadres, including leading cadres and ordinary cadres, to be honest and upright in their ways and to have noble thinking and moral character. Specifically, they must meet the following requirements:

First, a strong party character. They should unswervingly implement the party's line, principles and policies, maintain political unanimity with the party Central Committee and have the ability to create new situations in work. They should seek truth from facts, be upright and never stoop to flattery, be bold in persevering in the correct advocations, and be bold in boycotting evil tendencies, in persevering in the party's principles, in defending the party's interests and in waging struggle against all erroneous ideas and unhealthy tendencies.

Second, an honest and upright work style. They should handle matters with fairness, and distinguish right from wrong. They should not be swayed by personal considerations, should not engage in factions, should not make use of their functions to practice evil tendencies, should not appoint people by favoritism and should not practice nepotism. They should cherish skilled personnel, and appoint people of merit and promote people with ability. They should not be jealous of people with merit and people with ability, and should not bury or suppress skilled personnel.

Third, handle work conscientiously. They should have a high degree of revolutionary dedication and political sense of responsibility. They should carry out work conscientiously and meticulously, should not put off work and should shoulder responsibility boldly.

Fourth, treat others sincerely. They should adopt an amiable attitude and treat others warmly. They should care about cadres and party members, have heart-felt talks with party members and cadres frequently, understand their situation and solicit opinions. They should treat the latter's letters and visits conscientiously and practically and realistically help the latter reflect situations and solve problems.

Fifth, abide by discipline and law. They should be models in abiding by party discipline and state laws, take the lead in implementing the party constitution and "requirements," persevere in the system of asking for instructions and making reports, implement the decisions of the party committee and strictly abide by personnel confidentiality.

Why must we put forth strict demands for the cadres of the organizational department of the party committee? This is primarily determined by the nature of work of the organizational department and the responsibility it shoulders. The organizational department of the party committee is the counseling aid and administrative organ of the party committee in organizational work. Under the unified leadership of the party committee, it shoulders such important tasks as supervising properly the cadres and party members of the party, developing and consolidating the party organizations, allocating properly the leading groups, raising the combat ability of the party and guaranteeing the victorious realization of the party's political line organizationally. The cadres of the organizational department shoulder important responsibility for the realization of these tasks. Whether their style of work and their thinking and morality were good or poor directly affects the implementation of the party's organizational line and is related to whether or not we can mobilize the enthusiasm of the broad masses of

party members and cadres. Thus, the comrades who are working in the organizational departments should become the models of selflessness, fairness and honesty, who persevere in principle and abide by discipline. Only in this way can the organizational department truly be the home of the party members and cadres where the party's organizational work in the new period is done fruitfully and properly.

7. How should we strengthen the building of the organizational department itself?

Answer: Since the smashing of the "gang of four," in particular since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, the organizational departments at various levels have adhered to the line, principles and policies of the central authorities and, under the leadership of the party committee, done a great deal of work, scoring marked results accordingly. However, with the shift in the focus of work of the whole party and under the situation of creating in an all round manner a new state for socialist modernization, the organizational department encounters many new problems that need to be solved conscientiously, and inherits a series of new tasks and demands. Thus, we urgently ask the organizational departments to strengthen the building of their own thinking, style and organization, further raise the ideological level and level of awareness of policies, readjust and build properly their own rank and leading group, improve the style and method of work and raise the quality of work and efficiency in work in order to meet the needs of the new situation and new tasks.

In strengthening the building of the organizational department itself, we should do well the work in the following aspects:

First, further emancipate thinking, conscientiously eradicate the influence of the "leftist" thinking, and unswervingly maintain political unanimity with the central authorities. We must acknowledge the fact that the organizational front has suffered from the "leftist" ideological influence and the sabotage of Lin Biao, Kang Sheng and the "gang of four." Some comrades have not sufficiently emancipated their thinking or have not emancipated their thinking at all. There are numerous people who still follow the beaten path, stick to conventions, possess a rigid way of thinking and have all kinds of restrictions. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, the central authorities continued to emphasize emancipating thinking and seeking truth from facts. In the last few years, in the midst of bringing order out of chaos, we have broken loose from some restrictions. Our thinking has been emancipated gradually. Most of the comrades have resolutely supported the party's line, principles and policies. However, generally speaking, the "leftist" ideological influence has not been fully overcome. In particular, on the issue of cadres, the "leftist" remnant poison has not been thoroughly eradicated. This is an ideological obstacle in correctly implementing the party's organizational line and in further opening up a new situation in organizational work. Thus, the cadres of the organizational department must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and the party's line, principles and policies, take the documents of the 12th Party Congress and the "Decision on Several Historical

Issues of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC" as the weapons, link them with practice, carry out examination, sum up experience, learn from lessons, consciously purge our thinking, raise understanding and free ourselves from the shackles of the "leftist" thinking, so as to further raise the determination and consciousness of implementing the party's line, principles and policies. At the same time, we must also pay attention to preventing and overcoming rightist thinking, oppose the tendency of liberalism and enable the organizational work to develop ahead from beginning to end along the correct orientation.

Second, work hard to raise one's ideological content and awareness of policy in organizational work. Organizational work is closely linked with the central task of the party in different periods. Thus, organizational work must revolve around the central task of the party and serve the central task accordingly. Besides conscientiously and meticulously taking good care of daily business, the organizational department should also frequently consider, in light of the development of the situation, some major issues involving the overall situation, strengthen the investigation and study and ideological guidance of issues involving principles and policy, understand and study without delay the ideological trend of the party members and cadres, be good at discovering the tendentious problems and reflect them to the party committee without delay and make specific suggestions accordingly. We should study how to strengthen the building of the governing party, how to further purify and consolidate the party organization ideologically, in style and organizationally so as to raise the combat ability of the party, and how to do a good job of the reform of a series of major systems involving organizational work so as to solve properly the cooperation between new and old cadres and the replacement of old cadres by new cadres. Through analyzing and studying history and the present situation, we should continuously sum up fresh experiences, discover laws from within and raise our organizational work to a new level.

Third, we must build the organizational department into a department with a strong party spirit and an upright style of work. The cadres of the organizational department must make strict demands on themselves, set themselves as examples in every way and, under all circumstances, must persevere in principle, uphold justice, handle matters with fairness and remain upright and never stoop to flattery. Every comrade must be a model in abiding by party regulations and party law, strengthen organizational content and sense of discipline, and strictly guard the secrets of the party and state as well as confidentiality involving personnel. The organizational departments at various levels must take the lead in persevering in democratic centralism, perfect organizational life, conscientiously launch criticism and self-criticism, be bold in supporting what is righteous and drive away what is evil, resolutely boycott and oppose all unhealthy tendencies and act in accordance with the party's policies and principles. The comrades working in the organizational departments are absolutely not permitted to practice fraud or feign compliance. They must brace themselves and quietly immerse themselves in hard work. They must persevere in appointing people on their merits, oppose appointing people by favoritism, and truly manage to select people with merit and appoint people with ability.

Fourth, strengthen investigation and study and improve the method of work. The comrades of the organizational department, in particular the leading comrades, must frequently penetrate into reality to get in touch with party members and cadres, link up with the masses on frequent occasions, carry out careful investigations and study, and have a good grasp of more first-hand materials. Wherever problems or experiences are discovered, there they should go to assist in solving problems, analyze typical examples in depth, sum up experiences, guide the whole and effectively overcome subjectivism and bureaucratism. We must work hard to strengthen the work of testing cadres, have a full grasp of the political integrity and ability as well as the reality of work and study of the cadres, continue to discover outstanding skilled personnel, and have in hand a list of more reserved cadres so that we can know our people well enough to assign them jobs commensurate with their abilities.

Fifth, work hard to raise the political and theoretical level as well as professional ability of the cadres of the organizational departments. In light of the needs of the development of our cause and the reality of the cadres of our own department, we must carry out, in a planned manner and by stages and in groups, training by rotation of cadres in organizational work. Both old and new comrades must put time and energy in study. They must not only study political theory and profession well, but must also pay attention to learning knowledge in science and technology as well as business management. We must strive to train, over a relatively short period of time, specialists in organizational work who are accomplished in Marxist theories as well as are professionally proficient.

Sixth, we must readjust and build well our own ranks, and take the lead in making our leading groups and cadre ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent. We must resolutely remove from the organizational department those people who rose to power by closely following Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their likes, people who harbored serious factional tendencies, the smash-and-grabbers, as well as those people who have opposed the line of the central authorities since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee and those people who have committed all kinds of serious acts against law and discipline. We must consolidate the cadres who have strong party character, fine style of work and professional ability and who are in their prime of life, and pay attention to drawing in some cadres who possess scientific and technological knowledge, so as to form the organizational department into a staunch rank that is organizationally pure, full of vitality and both red and expert.

8. What is party character? What major contents does party character include?

Answer: The so-called party character is the intrinsic nature of a political party. A political party of a different class will have a different party character. The party character of the proletarian political party is the most concentrated manifestation of the proletarian class character. The party character of a communist party member is the most concentrated manifestation of the proletarian class character, is the highest form of

expression of the essence of the proletariat and is the most concentrated expression of the interest of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of China is the vanguard of the Chinese working class, is the loyal representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities in China and is the leading core of the socialist cause in China. The character of our party as well as the characteristics of our party which are formed in the practice of the protracted revolution and construction and which distinguish our party from other political parties--these make up our party character, which is also the party character which every communist party member should possess. Generally, it includes the following major contents:

First, persevere in using Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as the compass for our own action. We fully and accurately understand and master the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, act in accordance with the principle of linking theory with practice, make use of the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and method, and practically and realistically study and solve the new situations and new problems that continue to emerge in the practice of revolution and construction. At all times and under all circumstances must we persevere in the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and persevere in the world outlook of dialectic materialism and historical materialism. All acts of doubting or departing from Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought or all forms of idealism and metaphysics are not tolerated by the party character and principle.

Second, persevere in the party's highest program and be resolved to struggle for communism through to the end. At all times and under all circumstances, a communist party member must be steadfast in their communist conviction from beginning to end, arm himself with the communist thinking, resolutely resist and overcome the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology, feudal remnant ideology as well as other nonproletarian thinking, and preserve the purity of the communist thinking. We must closely integrate the realization of the party's highest program with the realization of the party's tasks at various stages, do our own job well and in a down-to-earth manner and dedicate our wisdom and strength to the communist cause.

Third, establish close ties with the masses and serve the people wholeheartedly. Aside from the interest of the working class and the broad masses of people, our party has no special self interests. A communist party member should put the people's interest in the foremost position, unconditionally subordinate his individual interest to the interests of the party and people, and even have the willingness to make self-sacrifices for the interests of the party and people. We must seek gain for the people, handle affairs properly for the people, show concern for the sufferings of the masses, listen attentively to the cries of the masses, reflect the opinions of the masses and share weal and woe with the masses of people. Selfishness, individualism, and acts of seeking self interest at the expense of the interests of the party and people, seriously departing from the masses and putting themselves above the masses are all manifestations of impurity of party character.

Fourth, possess a strict sense of organization and discipline and maintain a high degree of unanimity ideologically and politically. The individual party member must obey the party organization, the minority must obey the majority, the lower level organization must obey the higher level organization, and the various organizations of the whole party and all party members must obey in a unified manner the party's national congress and the party Central Committee. Inside the party, we absolutely prohibit all factional organizations and small-group activities, resolutely oppose factionalism and oppose all kinds of sectarianism and anarchism. We must consciously abide by party discipline and uphold the party's solidarity and unity.

Fifth, conscientiously launch criticism and self-criticism, be bold in exposing and correcting our shortcomings and mistakes and be bold in waging struggle against all erroneous ideas and unhealthy tendencies. A communist party member must be selfless and fearless, open and aboveboard, must have a clearcut stand, must not hide his mistakes and gloss over his faults, must not yield to or shelter bad people and bad deeds, and must persevere in the truth in the interest of the people, correct mistakes in the interest of the people and wage ideological struggle in the interest of the people.

9. What is party style? Why do we say that the question of party style is a matter of life and death to a political party?

Answer: The so-called party style is the style of a political party and its party members politically, ideologically, in work and in livelihood. The party's style embodies the character and purpose of a political party, and is the external manifestation of the party character and world outlook of a political party and its party members.

A certain kind of political party will have a certain party style. The Communist Party of China is the vanguard of the Chinese working class and is the loyal representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities in China. In the protracted revolutionary struggles, it has formulated a set of outstanding Marxist style of work. After the Yanan rectification, comrade Mao Zedong clearly summed up the style of our party into the three important styles of work, which are, the style of integrating theory with practice, the style of forging close links with the masses of people and the style of practicing criticism and self-criticism. This is a marked sign which distinguishes our party from other political parties, and is also an important guarantee for our party to develop in strength continuously and to move from victory to victory.

Our party has all along attached importance to the issue of party style and has from beginning to end regarded it as an important content in party building. In particular, after our party has seized political power throughout the country, in order to preserve and give prominence to the fine style of the party, the party Central Committee and comrade Mao Zedong have waged unrelenting struggles. At present, the party Central Committee has again raised the party style of the political party in power to the acute degree of life and death, and has adopted a series of measures ideologically, institutionally and in work, to revive and give prominence to the fine style

of the party. In order to enable the party style to take a basic turn for the better, the party Central Committee has decided to use the 3 years starting from the latter half of 1983 to carry out by stages and in groups an all-round rectification of the party style and party organization. Why has our party put so much stress on the issue of party style? Basically, it is because basic changes have taken place in the environment, position and historical factors of our party. After the victory throughout the country, our party went from a bitter war environment to a peaceful environment, went from a position of being suppressed to a position of power, and went from an involvement primarily in revolutionary wars to an all-round launching of socialist construction. These were the fruits of victory which the people throughout the country have won under the leadership of our party. However, these changes have also brought about a series of new problems for the style of our party.

First of all, we should affirm the fact that most of our party members have been tested after the victory and have played exemplary and core roles in thinking, work and style of work. However, we must be able to realize that some communist party members, including some leading cadres, have lost their glorious traditions and have seriously stained their ideology and style of work. Some have claimed credit for themselves and become arrogant, failed to make progress, become irresponsible, acted as lords and masters, practiced bureaucratism and divorced themselves from the masses to a serious extent. Some have sought ease and comfort, pursued enjoyment and allowed individualism to swell. Some have developed the thinking of special privileges to a serious extent, abused their powers and sought personal gain for themselves and their families. Some have promoted anarchism, obstinately launched factional activities and undermined party discipline. Having been hit by the sugar-coated bullet of the bourgeoisie and been corrupted, some have practiced graft and carried out economic criminal activities, and have even followed the path of degeneration. All these evil tendencies have seriously harmed the interests of the party and people and have discredited the high prestige of the party among the masses.

The reality of life shows that the style of a political party in power is an important factor in consolidating and raising the party's prestige and in establishing close ties with the masses, is an important guarantee for realizing the party's correct leadership and implementing the party's line, principles and policies, and is also a necessary factor for upholding the party's unity and solidarity and raising the combat ability of the party. If the party style of the political party in power is bad and not corrected, the party will gradually decay. It will lose the results of the revolution, and will have difficulty consolidating and raising the prestige of the party leadership. Thus, we can see that the evil tendencies inside the party not only seriously corrupt the communist party members but also directly affect the life and death of our party. Therefore, the comrades of the whole party and the party organizations at various levels must attach great importance to the problem of party style, take the lead in overcoming unhealthy tendencies, maintain a fine style and take the lead in waging unremitting struggles against all kinds of evil tendencies, so as to bring about a basic turn for the better in our party style in the relatively short period of time. Only

in this way can our party maintain from beginning to end the character of vanguard of the working class, and lead the people throughout the country to carry out the four modernizations and advance in victory toward the great communism.

10. What aspects of party style should we emphasize properly?

Answer: As regards what aspects of party style we should emphasize properly, we should proceed from the basic tasks of the party at various stages as well as the major problems existing inside the party. At present, what are the major problems of our party in respect to party style? They are primarily as follows: Due to the fact that, till today, we still have not totally eradicated the remnant poison of the 10 years of internal turmoil, and to the growth of the corrosive role of the various ideas of the exploiting class under the new situation, at present, our party does indeed have the problem of impurity of thinking, impurity of style and impurity of organization, and the party style has not yet taken a basic turn for the better. In some party organizations, a serious phenomenon of weakness and laxity in leadership work still exists. Some basic-level organizations lack the necessary combat ability so much so that they have become paralyzed. A few party members and cadres are extremely irresponsible in work and are seriously bureaucratic; or they seek special privileges in life and make use of their powers to seek personal gain; or they practice anarchism and extreme individualism, and undermine the party's organizational discipline; or, still more, they obstinately carry out factional activities and harm the interest of the party. Some individual party members and cadres even sink so low as to practicing corruption and graft and carrying out serious economic criminal activities. Furthermore, a few remaining elements of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique are still occupying certain leadership positions and awaiting opportunity to stir up trouble. Proceeding from this basic situation, we should focus on the following aspects in emphasizing party style properly:

First, resolutely maintain political unanimity with the party Central Committee and uphold the party's solidarity and unity. We must educate our party members and cadres to strengthen their sense of organization and discipline, to resolutely implement the party's line, principles and policies and decisions, and to maintain a high degree of ideological and political unanimity and unity in action with the party. No party members, cadres and party organizations are permitted to deliberately speak or act contrary to the party Central Committee politically, or feign compliance, follow their own inclinations and act as they think fit on the issues of the party's line, principles and policies. We must educate the party members, in particular the leading cadres of the party, to treasure the party's solidarity, uphold at all times the prestige of the party Central Committee, and combat all phenomena that harm the party's solidarity. No one is permitted to form factions, gangs and groups, and build up one's own personal influence. Also, no one is permitted to organize secret cliques inside the party and carry out factional activities and sinister activities.

Second, serve the people whole heartedly and maintain flesh-and-blood ties with the masses of people. We must educate the party members and cadres to

put themselves in a correct relationship to the masses of people, correctly understand and utilize the power entrusted to them by the people, be good public servants to the people, seek gains for the masses at all times and absolutely not make use of their powers to seek personal gains or personal privileges. We must breathe the same air and share the same fate with the masses of people, show concern for the sufferings of the masses, handle matters properly for the people, put others before ourselves and sacrifice our interests for the sake of others, put the interests of the people in the foremost position and put our individual interest in a subordinate position, and not allow individual reputation, position and interest to entrap the masses. We must firmly erect the masses viewpoint, take the masses into consideration in all matters, consult with the masses in all matters, trust the masses, rely on the masses, listen carefully to the voice of the masses, respect the opinions of the masses, bring into play the wisdom and strength of the masses, persevere in the mass line in all kinds of work and resolutely overcome bureaucratism and subjectivism.

Third, conscientiously persevere in the principle of democratic centralism, and persevere in the system of integrating collective leadership with division of labor and responsibility among individuals. No one should practice the patriarchal system and what I say counts, and no one should make individual decisions on major issues. At the same time, we must clearly stipulate the specific responsibility of each leading member, so that all matters are handled by someone, that everyone has his or her specific responsibility, and that no one is allowed to shift his or her responsibility when matters arise. We must educate party members, in particular leading cadres of the party, that they are not permitted to suppress democracy, carry out retaliation, frame good people and exploit and invade the democratic rights of the party members and masses. We must uphold the centralized unity of the party at all times, oppose the phenomenon of absence of organization and discipline and oppose separatism and liberalism.

Fourth, we must be honest in performing our official duties, struggle arduously, make a clear distinction between public and private interests and be upright. All communist party members and leading cadres must be law-abiding, strictly implement financial and economic discipline, conscientiously correct the evil tendencies in the economic realm and resolutely deal blows to economic criminal activities. No one is allowed to draw on public funds to give dinners or send gifts, eat and drink extravagantly, or harm public interests to benefit private interests, recklessly issue bonuses and distribute public property among private individuals. No one is allowed to pull strings, get in by the back door and carry out illegal economic activities. We strictly prohibit smuggling, corruption and bribery, speculation and fraud and theft of state and collective properties. We must educate party members and cadres to continuously raise their awareness of opposing corruption and degeneration, strengthen their ability to discern and resist bourgeois thinking and bourgeois lifestyle, forever maintain the purity of the communist ideology and morality and truly become communist party members with pure thinking and noble morality.

11. What are the basic criteria for persevering in and improving party leadership?

Answer: The general program of the party constitution begins by pointing out that the Communist Party of China is the force at the core leading China's cause of socialism. This has clearly affirmed the leading position of the party in our country.

The general program of the party constitution as well as the many regulations of all the chapters have realized the necessity and importance of persevering in party leadership. At the same time, they have presented a series of important regulations on the principles and methods which we must abide by in persevering in and improving party leadership. The party constitution has put forth strict demands on the party members, party cadres and basic-level party organizations, and has put forth all kinds of regulations in respect to the system of organization, the system of democratic centralism and party discipline. All these are for the purpose of persevering in and improving party leadership.

Party leadership consists mainly in political, ideological and organizational leadership. The party must realize this kind of leadership through formulating and implementing the correct lines, principles and policies, through carrying out meticulous and effective ideological and political work and propaganda and education, through carrying out strict and discreet organizational work and through bringing into full play the vanguard and exemplary roles of the party members. The organizational work of the party mainly consists of training, selecting, using and supervising cadres, the most important link of which is to send the most appropriate personnel to all kinds of leadership positions and, in addition, to rely on the party organization and the masses of people to conscientiously supervise the party members and leading cadres at various levels.

We must strictly implement the principle of division of work between party and government. The party must make sure that the state's legislative, judicial and administrative organs, the economic and cultural organizations as well as the people's bodies will work with enthusiasm, initiative, independence, responsibility and harmony. In the enterprise and professional units, the basic-level party committees and, where basic-level party committees are not established, the general branch committees or branch committees should carry out discussion and make decisions on the major issues involving principle. At the same time, they should guarantee sufficient exercising of functions by the administrative responsible persons and not take on what should be done by the latter. With the exception of special circumstances, the general branches and branches under the leadership of the basic-level party committees will only play the role of supervising their own units in the correct completion of production and business tasks. The party must also strengthen the leadership over the trade unions, the communist youth leagues, the federations of women and other mass organizations and bring their roles into full play.

In persevering in and improving party leadership, we must strengthen the building of the party itself. The party organizations at various levels must frequently discuss and examine the propaganda work, educational work, organizational work, the work of inspecting discipline, the work of the

masses and the work of the united front of the party, pay attention to studying the ideological and political conditions inside and outside the party, and effectively carry out ideological education without delay. Inside the party, we must frequently and conscientiously launch criticism and self-criticism and persevere in waging ideological struggle on the issue of principle against the "leftist" and rightist erroneous tendencies. We must persevere in carrying out the reform of organizations, strengthen the building of leading groups, improve leadership method and style of work, work hard to train cadres and gradually bring about leading groups and cadre ranks that are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent. We must conscientiously rectify the party style and party organization, maintain the purity of the party ideologically and organizationally, strengthen the close ties with the broad masses of people and continue to raise the party's combat ability. In this way, we can build our party into a staunch leading core, and can lead the people in a better manner to create an overall new situation for socialist modernization.

The party members and party organizations must also strengthen the viewpoint of the legal system. From the central authorities to the basic level, all party members and party organizations must not engage in activities that violate the constitution and the law, and must carry out activities within the scope of the constitution and the law.

Chapter 2: The Policy on Cadres and Criteria for Cadres

12. What is the party's cadre line? How should we correctly implement the party's cadre line?

Answer: Our party's cadre line is to persevere in appointing people on their merits, select cadres according to the principle that cadres should possess both political integrity and ability and train and prepare cadre ranks that are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent, so as to guarantee the realization of the party's political line. For several decades, under the guidance of the party's cadre line, our party has prepared group after group of cadres, has built and developed powerful cadre ranks and guaranteed the continuous development ahead of our revolution and construction. Practice has proved that this cadre line is in full accord with the Marxist principle and the needs of the party's cause.

To correctly implement the party's cadre line, we must accomplish the following:

First, we must strictly persevere in the principle of having cadres with both political integrity and ability. The "merits" referred to in the appointment of people on their merits mean both political integrity and ability. We must select and use in an all-round manner cadres with both political integrity and ability, and put into different positions of leadership or assign all kinds of leadership work to cadres who persevere in the four basic principles, who resolutely implement the party's line, principles and policies, who possess correct ideology and honest style of work, who possess definite professional knowledge and ability in organizational leadership, and who possess true skills and knowledge of the four modernizations and who therefore can create new situations. Only in this way can we truly appoint people according to their merits and prepare cadre ranks that are both red and expert, and that can shoulder the major historical responsibility of leading the masses to launch the four modernizations.

Second, we must persevere in looking in all corners of the land and oppose to appointing people by favoritism. In appointing and selecting cadres, we must take political integrity and ability as the criteria and not old colleagues, old subordinates and close friends as the criteria. We also cannot use our own likes and dislikes as the criteria. As long as a person

possesses both political integrity and ability, we must be fair in our treatment regardless of locality, department, army unit or school from which he or she graduates and must not befriend one and alienate another. If, in appointing and selecting cadres, we appoint people by favoritism, form factions, draw lines of demarcation by our own standards and foster individual power, then we will undermine the party's cadre line. This not only is incompatible with the party character of a communist party member, but is also not permitted by party discipline.

Third, we must know our cadres well enough to assign them jobs commensurate with their abilities. "Knowing the people well" is the basis for "assigning jobs commensurate with one's abilities." To know people well, we must familiarize ourselves with and understand cadres in an all-round manner. We must not only have a good grasp of the political integrity and ability of the cadres, but must also understand their historical and realistic manifestations. We must not only become familiar with the ideological style and political character of the cadres, but must also understand their organizational ability and actual performance in work. We must also know well their individual characteristics. Thus, we should vigorously strengthen the work of testing cadres and obtain an all-round and truthful understanding of the situation of cadres through all means. We must expand our field of vision, become familiar with and understand more people, and have in hand a list of large numbers of reserve cadres. We should strive to have an all round and concrete understanding of each cadre, and must not just know one thing and not another about the cadres. Otherwise, we will not be able to know our people well and assign jobs commensurate with their abilities.

Fourth, we must rationally allocate and use cadres, and make the best possible use of each person's abilities. Every cadre has his strengths and shortcomings, weak points and strong points, and has different interests and skills. Thus, we must take into consideration the different situations of each cadre, rationally allocate and correctly use him, develop his strengths and avoid his weaknesses, make the best possible use of his abilities, strive to avoid the inability to apply what he learns and the use of lesser qualities at the expense of stronger qualities, so that we will not bury and suppress skilled personnel.

Fifth, we must vigorously train cadres and continue to raise the political quality and business level of the cadres. Cadres are not born with political integrity and ability, but attain those qualities through being trained and tempered in practical struggle. To prepare more cadres with political integrity and ability, we must, on the one hand, consciously train them at the appropriate positions and let them improve their skills, and on the other, carry out training in a planned manner and, through training, raise their political consciousness, theoretical level and cultural standard, enrich their scientific and technological knowledge, and raise their ability in professional work. In this way, we will lay a solid foundation for selecting cadres with political integrity and ability.

13. How should we correctly understand and have a good grasp of the party's criteria for cadres?

Answer: Political integrity and ability are the criteria for the cadres of our party. To correctly understand and have a good grasp of the criteria of political integrity and ability for the cadres, we must correctly understand and solve the following three problems:

First, the implications of "political integrity" and "ability" differ in their specific content at different historical periods. At present, we are in the period of socialist modernization, and have come up with a new content involving the political integrity and ability of the cadres. Integrating the demand of the general task in the new period with the actual situation of the cadre ranks in our country, the party Central Committee has put forth new demands for the criteria of political integrity and ability of the cadres at the present stage. They are, to persevere in the four basic principles, resolutely implement the party's line, principles and policies, establish correct ideology and honest style of work and possess definite professional knowledge and the ability in organizational leadership in order to create new situations.

Second, we must correctly understand the content of "political integrity." The so-called "political integrity" refers mainly to the political attitude, political quality and ideological style of the cadres. Some comrades one-sidedly understand and misinterpret the content of "political integrity" and look upon those obsequious "peacemakers," "people who try never to offend anybody" and people who do mediocre work and who fail to create new situations as having "political integrity." They look upon those who exchange flattery and favors and who ingratiate themselves with others as having "political integrity." Inversely, they look upon those who have their own viewpoints, who have ability, who persevere in their principles and who are bold in making criticisms and suggestions as being proud and complacent and lacking "political integrity." These views are all incorrect. If we do not overcome these wrong viewpoints, we will not be able to have a correct grasp of the criteria of political integrity and ability.

Third, the simultaneous possession of political integrity and ability is a unified whole that cannot be separated and we cannot emphasize one at the expense of the other. The so-called "simultaneous possession" means possessing both, and we cannot do without either of them. We must not emphasize political integrity and neglect ability, and we also must not emphasize ability and neglect political integrity. If we only emphasize ability and not political integrity, we will foster the tendency to not care about politics and to deviate from the correct political orientation. If we only emphasize political integrity and not ability, we will foster the tendency toward ignorance and incompetence. Thus, we must link the two up closely. We must absolutely not keep in or promote to the leading groups those people who fail to establish a correct ideology and line, who are not of one heart with the party, who doubt and contradict the party's line, principles and policies and who fail to conscientiously correct their mistakes, as well as those people who persevere in forming factions, violate law and discipline and act wildly in defiance of the law or public opinion. However, this is not enough. We must also pay attention to the abilities of the cadres. In all cases, work cannot be handled properly without the necessary abilities.

Just as comrade Mao Zedong said very early on: "We must oppose the tendency to not care about politics. However, engaging exclusively in politics and knowing no technology and business don't work either. Our comrades, whether they are involved in agriculture, commerce or culture and education, must learn some technology and business." "The cadres of various trades and undertakings must work hard to become proficient in technology and business, and enable themselves to become experts who are both socialist-minded and professionally proficient. The party constitution stipulates that the party's cadres must work hard to make themselves more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent, as this is the concrete manifestation that they possess both political integrity and ability. We must act in accordance with the demand of the party constitution, persevere in an all-round manner the criteria that cadres should possess both political integrity and ability, and correctly implement the party's cadre line. Only in this way can we build cadre ranks that are both red and expert, select large numbers of middle-aged and young cadres to shoulder leadership work at various levels and guarantee the victorious realization of the party's historical task.

14. How should we establish the viewpoint of using personnel in the new period?

Answer: The so-called viewpoint of using personnel in the new period means to train, select and use cadres according to the needs of the general task of the party in the new period and according to the demand to make cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent, and to promote to the leading positions at various levels those cadres who are educated, who have professional knowledge, who can resolutely implement the party's line, principles and policies, and who can create new situations.

To establish the new viewpoint of using personnel, we must correctly understand and solve the following problems:

First, correctly handle the record of service, political integrity and ability of the cadres. A cadre's record of service is the record of his revolutionary history and should be respected. A record of service reflects to a certain extent the practice and experience of an individual. However, we must not look at it in terms of absolutes, feel that the longer the record of service with ability, and only take into consideration record of service and seniority. In looking at a cadre, we must not simply look at his record of service but must also look at his present actual level. Whatever he does, he must be competent at a job and have actual skills. In particular, one will not be qualified to carry out the four modernizations if one does not have real ability and learning, does not have professional knowledge, and does not have management skills. Thus, in employing cadres in the future, we must not emphasize record of service and belittle ability and only take into consideration record of service and seniority. We must not put somebody in an important position if he has a profound record of service without political integrity and ability. We must break a rule to promote and employ those who possess both political integrity and ability even though they have a short

record of service. We must eradicate the outworn concept of taking into consideration record of service and seniority, and firmly erect the thinking of selecting those with merits and appointing those with ability. Otherwise, we will not be able to promote large numbers of cadres who have ability, who are capable of making accomplishments, and who are in their prime of life, will continue to bury large numbers of able and skilled personnel, and will not be able to make cadre ranks younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent.

Second, correctly handle the role of intellectuals. An important factor for scoring victory in the revolution and construction is to attach importance to intellectuals and bring their positive role into full play. In particular, in light of the current new historical conditions, paying attention to giving play to the positive role of intellectuals in the four modernizations is of extremely important significance to building a high degree of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. Large quantities of facts have proved that, not attaching importance to intellectuals and not bringing their proper role into play, science and technology will not be promoted, there will be no hope for an economic revival, and the four modernizations will not be realized. We should realize that, as a whole, our country's intellectuals have become a part of the working class. Like the socialist workers and peasants, they are the masters of our country and society and are the forces on which our party relies. They ardently love our party, ardently love socialism and ardently love our motherland, have undergone rigorous tests in the protracted struggles, and have rendered important contributions to the socialist construction. Thus, we must fully trust and rely on them politically and in work, select to the leading posts at various levels those intellectuals who possess both political integrity and ability, who are in their prime of life, and who have professional knowledge and the ability in organizational leadership, so that they will build themselves up to maturity through the practice of leadership work and shoulder heavy responsibilities.

Third, correctly handle the cadre's historical performance and actual performance. In looking at a cadre, we "must not judge a cadre by a single act or a short period of his life, but must judge him by his entire history and his entire work." We must not only pay attention to the class status and family background and historical performance of cadres, but must also emphasize their actual performance and future for development. We should realize that paying attention to actual performance has been a consistent policy of our party and an important principle in the work of cadres. If we violate this principle, we will not be able to correctly implement the party's cadre line. In judging the cadres' historical performance, we mainly judge their consistent performance in the past, in particular their performance during the several critical junctures in the "great cultural revolution," then carry out analysis and render judgement practically and realistically. In judging the cadres' actual performance, we emphasize their performance since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, and see whether or not they resolutely support the party's line, principles and policies, whether or not they maintain political unanimity with the party Central Committee, whether or not their ideology and style

of work are honest, and whether or not they have rendered contributions to the four modernizations.

Fourth, correctly handle the overall leadership experience of the cadres. For many years, in selecting cadres, there has been a tendency, regardless of department and function, to sweepingly require overall leadership experience. Hence, we only paid attention to selecting skilled personnel from among party and government leading cadres, and neglected the selection of professional cadres. This has brought about two problems: one is that there are very few professional skilled personnel in the leading groups. Two is that the field of vision and the scope of selecting cadres are very narrow. As leading cadres, in particular major party and government leading cadres, overall work experience should be required. In the future, we should still select successors from among the cadres with overall leadership experience. However, the members of a leading group do not necessarily have to have overall leadership experience in all aspects. Furthermore, overall leadership experience is neither innate or intrinsic but is tempered through the practice of overall leadership work. If one does not assume an overall leadership position, then one will not obtain overall leadership experience. In light of the needs of the four modernizations, on the one hand, we must raise the level of professional knowledge of the present leading cadres. On the other hand, we should consolidate the cadres who possess professional knowledge and management ability, so as to make the leading groups better educated and professionally more competent as soon as possible.

To establish a new viewpoint of using personnel, we must persevere in dialectic materialism and oppose idealism and metaphysics. We must realistically reflect the actual situation of the cadres. We should only judge whether a cadre is good or bad on his actual performance and must absolutely not pass judgement based on individual impression, individual likes and dislikes and personal feelings. We must proceed from reality and carry out specific analysis on the strong points and weak points of each individual and call a spade a spade. We must judge cadres with the viewpoint of development and change, and not with a static and absolute viewpoint. Some who were in their prime of life in the past are now old and weak. Some who performed well in the past are no longer doing so well. Some who had low cultural standard have now raised their standard and have become experts in certain fields and so on and so forth. If we are not good at judging people in the midst of development and change, then we will have a onesided, distorted and absolute view of people, will not be able to treat cadres in an all-round manner and correctly select and use cadres. In treating cadres, we must overcome onesidedness, and must not neglect the role of middle-aged and young cadres simply because we must give play to the key role of veteran cadres; must not neglect the ability of the cadres simply because we must pay attention to their political performance; and must not neglect a cadre's performance in other areas because we emphasize cultural standard. If we do not solve this problem, we will not be able to correctly implement the party's cadre line and cadre policy.

Emphasizing and establishing a new viewpoint of using personnel is the need of the four modernizations and the demand to correctly implement the party's

cadre line in the new period. Only by establishing a new viewpoint of using personnel and emancipating our thinking from the shackles of old concepts and rules and regulations can we broaden our field of vision, open up opportunities, and truly train and select cadres according to the demand of the four modernizations and select large numbers of outstanding skilled personnel to the leading positions at various levels.

15. What basic factors should a leading cadre possess?

Answer: As stipulated in the party constitution, the leading cadres at various levels must meet the following basic requirements:

(1) Have a fair grasp of the theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the policies based on them, and be able to adhere to the socialist road, fight against the hostile forces disrupting socialism and combat all erroneous tendencies inside and outside the party.

(2) In their work as leaders, conduct earnest investigations and study, persistently proceed from reality and properly carry out the party's line, principles and policies.

(3) Be fervently dedicated to the revolutionary cause and imbued with a strong sense of political responsibility, and be qualified for their leading posts in organizational ability, general education and vocational knowledge.

(4) Have a democratic style of work, maintain close ties with the masses, correctly implement the party's mass line, conscientiously accept criticism and supervision by the party and the masses and combat bureaucratism.

(5) Exercise their functions and powers in the proper way, observe and uphold the rules and regulations of the party and the state and combat all acts of abusing power and seeking personal gain.

(6) Be good at uniting and working with a large number of comrades, including those who hold differing opinions, while upholding the party's principles.

These six basic requirements which the leading cadres must meet are put forth in light of the needs of the four modernizations and the present condition of the leading cadres. They are the concrete embodiment of the criterion of the party that cadres should possess both political integrity and ability as well as the concrete embodiment of the goal of making cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent. They reflect the strict demands which the party has made on the leading cadres in the new historical period. We must test and make demands on our leading cadres in an all-round and perfect manner according to these six requirements, and train and select successors to the revolution accordingly.

16. Why must we formulate the basic requirements for leading cadres?

Answer: The party constitution has clearly formulated the basic requirements for leading cadres, and has reflected accordingly the strict requirements

which the party has made for the leading cadres. This is of major significance and profound influence to preparing as swiftly as possible large numbers of qualified leading cadres of relatively good qualities, to practically and realistically raising the level of the leading cadres, to further strengthening and improving party leadership and to accelerating the progress of the four modernizations.

The 12th Party Congress solemnly proposed the overall creation of a new state in socialist modernization. To victoriously realize this great historical task, we must have the strong leadership of the Communist Party of China and the tenacious and highly effective work of thousands and tens of thousands of leading cadres. The leading cadres are not only the leaders in serving the people wholeheartedly, but are also the organizers and leaders in devising overall strategies. They shoulder the heavy responsibility of implementing the party's line, principles and policies, and of organizing and leading the broad masses in realizing the general task of the party in the new period. Only through giving full play to their key and exemplary role among the masses can we transform the party's combat slogans into the conscious action of hundreds of millions of people. The politics, ideology, work and style of work as well as ability of the leading cadres directly determine the level of party leadership and therefore have an extremely great influence on our party's cause. Only by putting forth higher and stricter requirements for leading cadres than for the general cadres can we bring into full play the proper role of the former, raise the level of leadership and fulfill the various tasks of the party.

Tempered and tested over a protracted period, the leading cadres at various levels have played an important role in all aspects of work. They are strong and effective. However, we should be able to see that, whether in politics, ideology, style of work and method of work, or whether in professional knowledge and cultural level, many comrades still fail to meet the needs of the socialist modernization. With the development of the four modernizations, the contradiction formed by this difference will become even more acute. Thus, the party constitution has clearly stipulated the basic requirements which the leading cadres must meet, putting forth strict demands on the leading cadres in the two aspects of political integrity and ability. This is of important significance to changing the above condition. These requirements have provided the leading cadres the orientation for hard work by which they can frequently examine themselves to see what they have attained, what they have not fully attained, or what they have not attained at all. In this way, they can formulate measures and make corrections actively, strive to become qualified leading personnel and speed up the progress of making the leading groups more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent.

In regard to party organization, the basic requirements for leading cadres is helpful as a unified yardstick in training cadres, testing cadres, employing cadres and selecting outstanding skilled personnel. In particular, today, at the important juncture of the cooperation between new and old cadres and the replacement of old cadres by new cadres, only by conscientiously persevering in the basic requirements for leading cadres can we

select tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of truly outstanding middle-aged and young cadres into the leading groups at various levels and guarantee the long-term continuation of our party's Marxist line. Persevering in the basic requirements for leading cadres in an all-round manner is helpful to the party organization and the broad masses in accurately mastering and differentiating the criteria for selecting cadres, strengthening the supervision and education over cadres, implementing in a better manner the party's cadre line and cadre policy and building stronger and more effective leading groups at various levels.

17. Why do we say that party cadres are the people's public servants?

Answer: The party cadres are the people's public servants. This is determined by the principle of our party. Our party is the vanguard of the working class and is the faithful representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Our party's basic principle is to proceed from the interests of the people in all matters and serve the people wholeheartedly. This is also a marked indication that distinguishes our party from other political parties. That is to say, besides the interests of the working class and the broad masses of people, our party does not have its own special interests. All the words and actions and policies of the party must accord with the greatest interests of the broad masses of people and must be the highest criteria supported by the broad masses of people. Being responsible to the masses of people means being responsible to the party; harming the interests of the people means harming the interests of the party. This determines the fact that the party cadres can only be the people's public servants and must absolutely not be the lords of the people; that the party cadres only have the duty to serve the people diligently and do not have the rights to seek personal gain and personal privileges politically and in livelihood.

Historical materialism tells us that the masses of people are not only the creators of material wealth and spiritual wealth in society, but are also the force that determines social changes. In our socialist country, the masses of people are the masters of society. The relationship between the cadres and the masses of people is a relationship between public servants and masters. If the cadres think they are a cut above others, place themselves above the masses of people and ride roughshod over others, then they have reversed the relationship between masters and public servants, and have lost the proper character as party cadres.

Whether their positions are high or low, the power of the party cadres is entrusted to them by the people. The higher the function, the greater the power of the cadres and the heavier the responsibility. Entrusting such a power to them, the people do not expect the cadres to become officials and lords, but expect them to correctly exercise such a power to handle matters and seek interests for the masses of people in a better manner, and to not utilize such a power at any point in time to seek personal gain. If a cadre makes use of the power entrusted to him by the people to seek personal gain and practice special privileges, and even violate party discipline and state law, then he has basically gone against the will of the masses of people

and let the masses down. In this case, the people have the right to recall the power entrusted to him.

The party constitution has stipulated that the party cadres are the public servants of the people. This can urge our cadres on to give prominence to the fine tradition and style of doing everything for the masses and relying on the masses in all matters, to listen carefully to the voice of the masses, to show concern for the masses' livelihood, to share weal and woe with the masses and to serve the people wholeheartedly. This can help us overcome bureaucratism, resist evil tendencies, further establish close ties between the party and masses and between cadres and masses, and build up the image of the party amidst the masses of people. This can encourage our cadres to make strict demands on themselves, strengthen their transformation of their world outlook, do a good job of ideological revolutionization, and turn themselves into public servants who enjoy the love, esteem and trust of the masses.

18. How should the cadres correctly exercise the powers entrusted to them by the people?

Answer: The party constitution clearly stipulated that cadres should "exercise their functions and powers in the proper way, observe and uphold the rules and regulations of the party and the state, and combat all acts of abusing power and seeking personal gain." This is one of the basic requirements which the leading cadres of the party at various levels should meet, and is also an important principle which all cadres must abide by. Persevering in this principle, we will meet the demand of the party and people; departing from this principle, we will lose the minimum requirement of being leading cadres.

To correctly exercise the powers entrusted to them by the people, cadres must correctly understand and handle properly the following problems:

First, cadres must correctly understand their relationship with the masses of people. Party cadres are the public servants of the people. At no time should they put themselves above the masses of people. The power of every cadre is entrusted to him by the party and the people according to the needs of work. This power is the power of the party and the people, and must absolutely not be considered a personal privilege. A cadre can only represent and reflect the will of the masses of people, and seek interest for the people and must absolutely not abuse the power in his hand to seek personal gain.

Second, cadres must firmly establish the thinking of serving the people wholeheartedly. All cadres have the duty to serve the people diligently and do not have the right to seek personal privileges politically and in livelihood. They must have the masses in mind at all times, link their heart with the heart of the masses, handle all matters properly for the masses, and seek interest for the masses wholeheartedly. They should proceed from the interests of the people in all matters and not from the interests of the individual or the small groups. They should be extremely responsible in

work, be bold in persevering in the truth in the interest of the people, correct their mistakes, be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, be not the least egocentric and make a special point of benefiting others, and preserve and give prominence to the glorious tradition of struggling arduously and sharing weal and woe with the masses.

Third, cadres must be models in abiding by party discipline and state laws and all kinds of rules and regulations. No cadres are permitted to use any pretext to violate financial and economic discipline or randomly approve money or material; to utilize functions and powers to seek special treatments for their families, relatives and friends in such matters as continuing education, transfer to another school, promotion, employment or going abroad; to use public funds against regulation to entertain guests and give presents; to make use of public funds against regulation to build or renovate the residential quarters of the leading personnel; and to confuse what is public with what is private, use public office for private gain, concoct various pretexts to seize and squander the properties of the state and collective. Cadres must consciously and strictly abide by the regulations concerning livelihood remunerations and strengthen the education of their own children. They must not violate the party's criteria for cadres and organizational principles and randomly make arrangements for their own families, relatives and children. They must not exceed their functions and powers and interfere with the party's work.

Fourth, cadres must present themselves as common laborers and consciously accept criticism and supervision by the masses. Cadres are common laborers. They are not allowed to think that they are a cut above others. They are not allowed to treat the masses with an attitude of inequality. More than that, they must not regard themselves as privileged personnel who are not restrained by party discipline and state laws or are above the organizations and the people. They must consciously place themselves under the supervision of the organization and the masses and modestly and carefully listen to the opinions of the masses. The party and people have the right to relieve or even dismiss a cadre from his duty if he abuses his functions and powers, does not heed the criticism and education of the organization and fails to correct his mistakes.

19. Why do we say that an important principle in cadre work is to make strict requirements for in-service cadres and to take good care of the resigned or retired cadres?

Answer: The Secretariat of the central authorities clearly pointed out that: "We must make strict requirements for in-service cadres and take good care of the resigned or retired cadres. This is an important principle and political task which the whole party must follow." We should profoundly understand this important directive and conscientiously implement it.

In-service cadres, particularly the leading cadres at the first front, directly shoulder the arduous tasks of organizing the masses of people to build a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. Whether or not they do their work well is extremely crucial to the development of the

entire cause. Every word and action and every move they make will directly affect the prestige of the party among the masses. Their ideology, style of work and leadership level are related to a great extent to the ability to persevere in the correct leadership of the party. Since the party and government have entrusted definite functions and powers separately to the in-service cadres according to their political integrity and ability, they should demand and supervise the latter's execution of their duty and correct exercising of the power entrusted to them by the party and people. The higher the function of a cadre, the heavier the responsibility and the stricter the requirements the party has on him. Only by making strict requirements on the in-service cadres can we enable them to constantly remember the great trust placed in them by the party and people, recognize their responsibility and maintain a vigorous revolutionary fervor and spirit of progress. Only in this way can the cadres effectively overcome the irresponsible air of a bureaucratic official, raise efficiency in handling matters and guarantee the fulfillment of all kinds of tasks. Only in this way can we prepare and train large numbers of outstanding skilled personnel and guarantee organizationally the continuation of the party leadership and the party's line. Only in this way can we win the support of the masses and truly do a good job of the relationship between party and masses and between cadres and masses. Only in this way can we guarantee the fulfillment of the general task of the new period.

The old resigned and retired cadres are the wealth of our party and state. They have accumulated rich experiences in the practice of protracted revolution and construction, and have rendered contributions to the party and people. Now, they have left their original work posts because they are old and weak. Although they no longer shoulder leadership responsibilities, they nevertheless form a very important political force in the lives of our party and country, and continue to play an active role in the building of a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. In particular, in discovering and training middle-aged and young cadres, in passing on experiences to the young cadres and in educating young people, they play a tremendously significant role. Our party is a proletarian political party, and our country is a socialist country. Our veteran cadres have worked all their lives for the revolution and have not engaged themselves in private properties. Many veteran comrades have broken down from constant overwork and have become physically weaker and weaker. In livelihood and medical care, they will encounter difficulties to varying degrees. Thus, we must take good care of the old resigned or retired cadres. Politically, we must respect them fully. In livelihood, we must make appropriate arrangements to practically assist them in solving actual difficulties which can be solved so that they will not have trouble in livelihood.

Precisely because of this, in cadre work, we must conscientiously implement properly the principle of "making strict requirements on in-service cadres and taking good care of resigned or retired cadres," adopt some measures to guarantee the implementation of this important principle organizationally, institutionally and in terms of policy. For instance, as regards the in-service cadres, first of all the leading cadres at the first front, we must set up a strict system of personal responsibility and, on this basis,

carry out testing and assessment at regular intervals by using the actual achievements of each individual as the primary basis and the method of combining mass appraisal and organizational assessment. All the in-service cadres must persevere in routing 8-hour work every day, and fulfill the tasks entrusted to them by the party and people with responsibility and high efficiency. In livelihood remunerations, they will enjoy livelihood remunerations determined by the state that correspond to their functions. Besides the individual interests and functions and powers in work within the scope fixed by system and policy, no one is allowed to seek personal gain or special privileges of any kind. We must strictly implement concerned regulations regarding political treatment and livelihood remunerations for resigned or retired cadres. The various localities and various departments must also take the initiative to adopt certain measures in light of the reality and pass specific regulations for making proper arrangements and care for veteran comrades, and make the act of caring for veteran cadres a fine social practice.

20. What are the basic requirements for making the leading cadres at various levels more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent?

Answer: The party constitution stipulated that: "Party cadres are the backbone of the party's cause." "We must make the cadre ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent. This is a major principle in strengthening the building of cadre ranks in the new historical period, and is an important guarantee for creating an overall new situation for socialist modernization.

In realizing the "four modernizations" of the cadre ranks, we should first of all "modernize" the leading groups. The so-called more revolutionary refers primarily to the political attitude, political quality and ideology and style of work of the leading cadres. At present, the basic requirements for making leading cadres more revolutionary are to persevere in the four basic principles, to resolutely support and implement the party's line, principles and policies, to maintain political unanimity with the party Central Committee, to establish a strong sense of dedication to the revolution and political sense of responsibility, to serve the people wholeheartedly, to keep in contact with the masses, to unite with the comrades, to persevere in the party character, to be selfless, to not use functions and powers to seek personal gain, to not engage in factional and sectarian activities, to strictly abide by law and discipline and to preserve and promote the fine tradition and style of the party.

The so-called younger in average age refers primarily to the fact that leading cadres should be in their prime of life, should be energetic and should be able to handle arduous work competently. To meet this requirement, at present, the thrust is to renew the age composition of the leading groups and lower the average age of the leading groups at various levels. Of course, this does not mean that every leading member must be young. Rather, the leading group should have old, middle-aged and young cadres, with the gradual expansion proportionally of middle-aged and young cadres, striving to attain 70 percent or thereabouts in 5 years.

The so-called better educated refers primarily to the fact that leading cadres must possess a definite cultural standard and level of knowledge. That is to say, leading cadres should possess a considerably high cultural level, should be able to master and make use of knowledge in modern natural sciences, social sciences and scientific management. Thus, the central authorities ask that the present cadres, whose cultural level is below the level of junior middle school and who are under 40 years of age, attain the level of junior middle school in 2 to 3 years. Those who have reached a level above the level of junior middle school but who lack professional knowledge must attain the level of secondary professional school or higher education in 3 to 5 years. In the future, the cadres who are drawn in or transferred in must have a minimum cultural and professional level equivalent to that of high school or secondary professional school graduates.

The so-called professionally more competent refers primarily to the professional level and professional capacity of the leading cadres. That is to say, leading cadres should become experts who possess professional knowledge, who know technology, who know management and who are professionally proficient. This type of skilled personnel can be trained in formal schools as well as through self-education and practical training. We should realize that all trades and undertakings, whether in agriculture, industry and communications, finance and trade, culture and education, or party affairs, have their own professional and specialized skilled personnel. If we feel that only those who are involved in engineering and technology and scientific research have specialized knowledge and are therefore specialized skilled personnel, then our understanding is not thorough. Those who have been involved in their field for a long period of time, have mastered the laws and characteristics of their field, have become familiar and proficient with the business of their own field, and have already become experts of their own field should be considered as having professional knowledge.

21. What are the basic requirements which a good leading group should meet?

Answer: The leading group is the headquarter for mobilizing the masses, organizing the masses and leading the masses to create an overall new situation for socialist modernization, and is the core leading the various localities, various sectors and various units. Party leadership is realized primarily through the leading group. The key to whether or not the work and production of a locality or a sector is launched properly lies in whether or not there is a good leading group. What kind of leading group can be called a good leading group?

First, a good leading group must from beginning to end persevere in the socialist road, resolutely support and implement the party's line, principles and policies, maintain political unanimity with the party Central Committee, and be able to create new situations. Leading groups and leading cadres must have political resolution and principle and not vacillate; and must be able to persevere in the correct ideology and line and resist the influence of all kinds of erroneous trends of thought. On the one hand, they must earnestly practice what they advocate and take the lead in implementing the party's line, principles and policies. On the other hand, they must be able to

constantly and actively propagate and explain the party's line, principles and policies, and use them to unify the thinking and action of the broad masses of cadres and people and mobilize their socialist enthusiasm. At the same time, in the implementation, they must be able to proceed from the reality of their own locality and sector, and must not apply and copy everything mechanically.

Second, a good leading group must be appropriately equipped with a rational structure that meets the requirements of being more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent, so as to truly become a strong leading core that is full of revolutionary vigor and combat ability.

Third, a good leading group must be a combat collective that has an honest style of work, that is united, that keeps in contact with the masses and that is honest in performing its official duties. Leading groups and leading cadres must be able to proceed from the overall situation, attach most importance to the party's cause, consciously safeguard the unity of the group and struggle against all words and actions that harm the unity of the party. At no time must they engage in factions and carry out sectarian activities. Leading members should understand, support and learn from one another, should put all their different opinions on the table, should carry out self-criticism frequently, should not counteract one another's efforts, should not allow themselves to be swayed by personal feelings and should be able to unite with all comrades, including comrades with different ideas, to handle work well with one heart and mind. They must bear in mind the masses at all times, keep in close contact with the masses and seek the interests for the people wholeheartedly. They must not use their functions and powers to seek personal gain and must not practice bureaucratism and subjectivism, but must consciously resist all kinds of evil tendencies.

Fourth, a good leading group must persevere in the principle of democratic centralism. It must practically and realistically implement the system of combining collective leadership with division of responsibility among individuals. The leading groups and leading members must promote democracy and at the same time correctly implement centralism and unity. All major issues should be decided on the basis of collective discussion by the leading groups. No one should practice the patriarchal system and what one says counts. The leading groups should strengthen their democratic life, should frequently launch criticism and self-criticism and should act in accordance with the principle that individual party members are subordinate to the party organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower party organizations are subordinate to the higher party organizations and all the constituent organizations and members of the party are subordinate to the national congress and the Central Committee of the party. We should have a clear division of work among leading members. Everyone will attend to his own duties, be bold in assuming responsibility and effectively fulfill the various tasks which he is responsible for under the terms of carrying out collective leadership properly.

22. Why must we abolish the system of lifelong tenure for leading cadres? How should this be done?

Answer: As regards the abolition of the system of lifelong tenure for leading cadres, the party constitution clearly stipulated that "leading party cadres at all levels, whether elected through democratic procedure or appointed by a leading body, are not entitled to lifelong tenure, and they can be transferred from or relieved of their posts."

Although the system of lifelong tenure for leading cadres was not stipulated in explicit terms in the past, it existed in reality, and its existence had brought about many disadvantages. Primarily, they were as follows: Power was overcentralized, thus encouraging the patriarchal system and what an individual says counts, and hindering the implementation of democratic centralism and the system of collective leadership. It brought about the aging of the leading group, for the older comrades could not come down from their positions and the younger cadres could not be promoted. This was unfavorable for solving the problems of selecting successors and replacing the old by the new. It encouraged certain cadres to become divorced from the masses, to seek personal privileges, to become satisfied with the existing condition and to not seek progress. This was unfavorable to making the cadre ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent. Thus, we can see that it is extremely necessary to abolish the system of lifelong tenure for leading cadres. If we do not solve this problem, we will have great difficulty raising our party's combat ability and our cause will not advance smoothly.

The abolition of the system of lifelong tenure for leading cadres is a major reform of the cadre system and is a project of vital and lasting importance involving the prosperity of our party. Its advantages are as follows: It is favorable to solving the phenomenon of overcentralization of power institutionally, overcoming "what I say counts" and the patriarchal system. It enables the party's democratic centralism and system of collective leadership to develop healthily, and it provides the important guarantee for the normalization of the political life of our party and state. It is favorable to training successors, to enabling the party to put the outstanding middle-aged and young cadres at appropriate posts without delay, carry out training and strengthen their ability accordingly, to enabling the cadre ranks to undergo the normal process of metabolism, and to continuously raising the combat ability of the leading groups. It is favorable to changing the thinking of regarding leading functions as "iron rice bowls," and to enabling the leading cadres at various levels to make strict demands on themselves to strengthen their dedication and sense of responsibility, work hard, actively make progress, be able to move upward and downward, serve the people wholeheartedly, be good public servants of the people and be competent leaders.

To abolish the system of lifelong tenure for leading cadres, the most fundamental task is to carry out reform and improvement institutionally. At present, we must practically and realistically achieve the following:

- (1) Conscientiously perfect the system of democratic election, gradually expand the scope of election and, through election, continue to renew the leading groups at various levels.

(2) Set up and perfect the system of resignation and retirement for cadres. Those cadres who are not suitable for continuing their work due to age and health factors should quit and rest or retire according to state regulations.

(3) Fix the term of appointment for leading cadres. The constitution stipulated that the chairman and vice chairmen of the NPC, the chairman and vice chairmen of the state, the premier and vice premiers of the State Council, the commissioners of the state, the president of the Supreme People's Court and the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate may be re-elected but shall not serve more than two consecutive terms.

(4) We must carry out reform step by step in all other aspects of the cadre system, and set up and perfect such systems involving the testing, transfer and dismissal of cadres, so as to guarantee institutionally that cadres can go up and down, in and out and be official as well as civilian.

23. Why do we say that our country's intellectuals are already part of the working class?

Answer: Intellectuals are not a class but a stratum. We must decide which class the intellectuals belong to on the basis of their economic position. This is a fundamental principle of historical materialism and is also the theoretical basis for our party in formulating the policy regarding intellectuals.

As early as the period of the agrarian reform, the democratic central government at Ruijin announced in 1933 the "Decision on Several Issues in the Agrarian Reform," in which was stipulated that "the class background of intellectuals is decided by its family background, and the class component of the individual is determined by the major source of livelihood of the individual." "When intellectuals are involved in work that does not exploit others, for instance, as teachers, editors, news reporters, clerks, writers and artists, they are mental laborers." Based on the Marxist method of class analysis, this "Decision" made intellectuals part of the laboring people and stipulated that they "should be protected by the laws of the democratic government." In 1948, the party Central Committee re-issued this document.

After the founding of new China, the Government Administration Council put forth the "Decision on Determining the Class Status in the Rural Areas" in 1950, pointing out that "the administrative personnel employed by the state, the cooperative or private organizations, enterprises and schools, whose wages are the entire or major source of livelihood, are staff members. Staff members are a part of the working class." It further pointed out clearly that: "Intellectuals with specialized skills or specialized knowledge who are employed by the state, the cooperative or private organizations, enterprises and schools, who are engaged in mental labor, and whose wages are the entire or major source of livelihood, such as engineers, professors and specialists, are high-level staff members, and enjoy the same class component as the ordinary staff members." They are also part of the working class. However, the agents for the capitalist side and the responsible officials at various levels of the Guomindang government are not staff members.

After the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production in our country was basically completed, comrade Zhou Enlai delivered a "Report on the Issue of Intellectuals" in 1956 on behalf of the party Central Committee. He specifically analyzed the basic changes in our country's intellectual circle in the 6 years since the nation's founding: On the one hand, the intellectuals from the old society have been transformed into wage laborers who serve socialism. On the other hand, the party has made great efforts to train large numbers of intellectuals of working class background. In light of this new situation, he clearly announced that most of our country's intellectuals have already become part of the working class.

The party's policy on intellectuals has been consistent. However, due to the interference of "leftist" mistakes, for a long time, we have taken world outlook and political ideology as the major basis for determining classes and, without analyzing the situation, have labeled all intellectuals as bourgeois intellectuals. We have even regarded as bourgeois intellectuals all those intellectuals who are trained by new China and who are descendants of workers and peasants, revolutionary army men and cadres. Making use of this mistake, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique called the intellectuals "stinky number nines" and "reactionary authorities," and brought about serious consequences.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," in particular since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, the party Central Committee made a thorough effort to bring order out of chaos with regard to the guiding ideology, principle and policies in the work of intellectuals, fully affirmed the important position and role of intellectuals in the socialist modernization, and restated the Marxist thesis that intellectuals are part of the working class, a thesis that is in accord with our country's reality.

The party's policy must reflect the new situation that has changed. Since our country's intellectuals are already a part of the working class, we no longer can follow our previous principle of "uniting with, educating and transforming" old intellectuals. Precisely in light of the new situation in the new period, our party has put forth the policy of "treating intellectuals equally without discrimination politically, boldly use them in work and show concern for their livelihood." The implementation of this policy has greatly aroused the sense of responsibility as masters of the broad masses of intellectuals as well as a political fervor to dedicate themselves to the four modernizations. Practice has proved that the broad masses of intellectuals of our country support the party and support socialism. They have a strong sense of patriotism and dedication. They have rendered important contributions to socialist construction. They have undergone the rigorous test of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and have raised their political consciousness to a great extent. Some advanced elements have already joined the Communist Party of China. Just as it was pointed out in the "Decision on Several Historical Issues of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC" and the report at the 12th Party Congress, the intellectuals, like their worker and peasant counterparts, are the forces on which the socialist cause depends.

24. Why should we emphasize bringing the role of intellectuals into play?

Answer: Attaching importance to intellectuals and bringing the role of intellectuals into play are the consistent policies of our party. As early as 1939, the party Central Committee had made the decision on absorbing large numbers of intellectuals. Large numbers of intellectuals successively joined the revolutionary ranks and party organizations. In 1956, the party Central Committee convened a special conference on the issue of intellectuals to mobilize the intellectuals and bring their forces into play in building socialism. Under the guidance of the correct policy of the party, the intellectuals have formed an important force in our country's revolution and construction, and have brought their tremendous role into play accordingly. Practice has proved that, without the participation of large numbers of intellectuals and without bringing into full play their positive role, we cannot score victory in revolution and construction.

At present, the party and government specially emphasize bringing the role of intellectuals into play. This is determined by the historical task of the new period and the position of the intellectuals. The general task of the party at the present stage is to unite with the people of all nationalities throughout the country in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology, and make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country. In order to guarantee the realization of the general task of the new period organizationally, the party has put forth the demand to make cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent. Our country's intellectuals are the ones in the cadre ranks who have become better educated and professionally more competent earlier. Bringing their role into full play is of major significance in building a high level of material civilization and spiritual civilization. We all know that we cannot develop agricultural production apart from the role of scientific and technological personnel, and cannot realize mechanization and electrification in agriculture without the participation of scientific and technological personnel. In industrial construction, we cannot carry out technological transformation, improve management and administration and raise economic results apart from the role of intellectuals. In building national defense, we especially cannot successfully carry out experiment on atomic and hydrogen bombs, launch intercontinental missiles and send man-made satellites to the sky without the participation of intellectuals. In building a socialist spiritual civilization, the intellectuals shoulder an even more important responsibility. To propagate Marxist theories, carry out education in the communist ideology, disseminate scientific and cultural knowledge, train skilled personnel in construction, make literature and art prosperous, develop public health work and sports, and so forth, we must bring into play the role of theorists, scientists, educators, literary workers, medical personnel and athletes of the working class. Just as comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report at the 12th Party Congress, to create an overall new situation for socialist modernization, we must attach particular importance to bringing into full play the role of intellectuals. Practice has proved that, not attaching importance to intellectuals and not bringing their role into play properly, we will not be able to change the

country's backward outlook and will not be able to realize the four modernizations.

In order to mobilize the enthusiasm of the intellectuals and bring their role into full play, we must resolutely implement the policy of "treating them equally without discrimination, boldly use them in work and show concern for their livelihood." We should be able to see that our country's intellectuals love the party ardently, love socialism ardently and love the motherland ardently. They have undergone rigorous tests in the protracted struggles. Even while they were cruelly persecuted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, they still persisted in their belief and rendered important contributions to socialist construction. Our country's intellectuals rank has proved to be an invaluable rank and a force which our party depends on. Thus, we must fully trust and rely on them politically and in work, select to the leading positions at various levels those intellectuals who possess both political integrity and ability, who possess professional knowledge and ability in organizational leadership and who are in their prime of life, and truly entrust them with functions, powers and responsibilities. We must show constant concern for the progress of intellectuals politically, improve our ideological and political work on them in light of their characteristics, and encourage and guide them to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as well as the party's line, principles and policies, to persevere in integrating with the masses of workers and peasants and in integrating theory with practice, and to continuously overcome the influence of all kinds of nonproletarian ideas.

We must actively absorb into the party those who request to join the party and who meet the requirements of a party member. In work, we must truly rely on them and boldly use them, provide them with fine working conditions, and bring into full play their special skills. In this way, we can enable them to use their talents to the full and can put their talents to full use, and avoid and minimize wasting talents. In livelihood, we must show concern for them, gradually improve their livelihood factors, free them from fear of disturbance in the rear and enable them to render more contributions to the state with single-hearted devotion.

25. Why must the party's organizational departments conscientiously emphasize the work of intellectuals?

Answer: Intellectual cadres, whether they are party members or nonparty members, are cadres of the party and the state. The party's organizational departments are in charge of the work of cadres. In accordance with the concerned regulations in managing cadres, the organizational departments will emphasize the overall work and conscientiously emphasize the work of intellectuals under the leadership of the party committees at various levels. This is the bounden duty of the organizational departments at various levels of the party.

The party's organizational work serves the political line. After the political line is determined, cadres are the decisive factor. In order to realize the great program of our country's socialist modernization, the party calls

for efforts to make cadres younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent under the prerequisite of making cadres more revolutionary. Intellectual cadres are the first ones in the cadre ranks to become better educated and professionally more competent. They have cultural as well as scientific and professional knowledge and play an important role in building a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. It is of extremely important significance to the four modernizations to handle the intellectual cadres well and bring their enthusiasm into play.

The work of intellectuals has a broad content and involves many departments. It calls for the participation of the whole party to do the work well. The central authorities calls for the party's organizational departments to emphasize overall work. This primarily means that the organizational departments should take the lead in organizing and pushing all forces to solve, either together or separately, the existing problems in the work of intellectuals. First of all, we must emphasize ideological work, assist the leading cadres at various levels to fully understand the position and role of intellectuals in the new period, eradicate the "leftist" influence and correctly treat the intellectuals. Secondly, we must emphasize policy. The organizational departments must conscientiously study and put forth specific measures regarding the principles and policies concerning the work of cadres, which also include the principles and policies concerning the work of intellectuals, and implement them after the approval by the party committee and government. Thirdly, we must emphasize examination. We must frequently examine the situation of how the policy regarding intellectuals is implemented in various units, and urge the concerned departments to solve problems once they are discovered. Fourthly, we must emphasize the situation. We must organize, in a planned manner, forces to carry out investigations and study on the new situations and new problems in the work of intellectuals, and propose methods and suggestions in solving the problems to the party committee and government.

26. Why must we pay attention to bringing into play the role of nonparty cadres?

Answer: Our party has all along attached importance to the role of nonparty cadres. As early as the period of the democratic revolution, comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out that we must not only show concern for cadres who are party members, but also show concern for nonparty cadres. There are many skilled personnel outside the party, and the communist party must not disregard them. That our party was able to win great victories in the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation was inseparable from the close cooperation between the party cadres and nonparty cadres as well as the success in bringing into full play the positive role of the nonparty cadres on the various fronts and at the various posts. After the nation's liberation, our party emphasized even more the unity and cooperation between party cadres and nonparty cadres, and accordingly arranged for a number of nonparty cadres to assume leadership responsibilities in the people's government at various levels. This played a positive role in uniting with large numbers of nonparty cadres, in uniting with the people throughout the country and in mobilizing all the positive factors inside and outside the party to

make common effort to heal the wounds of war and carry out large-scale economic construction. Nonparty cadres and party cadres alike are the wealth of our party and state. Today, faced with the new historical task, we need all the more the close cooperation between party cadres and nonparty cadres. We must bring into full play the enthusiasm, creativeness and wisdom and intelligence of the broad masses of nonparty cadres, strengthen their sense of responsibility, let them shoulder heavy responsibilities alongside the party cadres and make concerted efforts to do their work well. This is of extremely important significance to fulfilling the historical task of the new period.

The broad masses of nonparty cadres have undergone the protracted training and education by the party and undergone tests in political struggles and practice in work. Most of them have assiduously studied Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, supported the leadership of the party, persevered in the socialist road and rendered important contributions to the socialist construction on the political, economic, scientific and technological, cultural, educational, public health, news, publications and sports fronts. Some have become the core force in work. In terms of their political attitude or their attitude in work and professional ability, they are a reliable force. We should eradicate the "left" ideological influence, correctly regard the position and role of the nonparty cadres, and bring into full play the enthusiasm and creativeness of the nonparty cadres in all work.

To bring into play the role of nonparty cadres, the most important factor is to fully trust them politically and boldly use them in work. We must boldly select to the leading positions in the government at various levels and in the various professional departments those nonparty cadres who support the socialist cause, love the motherland ardently and possess professional knowledge and ability in organizational leadership. In accordance with their political integrity and ability, those who can assume primary positions can do so and those who can assume secondary positions can do so accordingly. The comrades inside the party must sincerely cooperate with the nonparty cadres who are shouldering leadership responsibilities and warmly support them in carrying out work boldly. If it is needed in work, we should let them attend concerned conference inside the party which they can attend and read concerned documents inside the party which can be read. Party members must respect the leadership of the higher-level nonparty leading cadres, obey their leadership, report whatever needs to be reported and ask for instructions wherever necessary, and must absolutely not give themselves the airs of party members and look down on nonparty cadres. We must guarantee that they have functions, powers and responsibilities within the scope of their responsibility and enable them to give play to their proper role. In making arrangements for using nonparty cadres, we must emphasize their actual performance and not let their family background, social connections and general historical problems in the past affect us from using them. In attending conferences, going abroad to visit, taking part in on-the-spot practical training, receiving foreign guests and going abroad to study, we must treat them equally without discrimination and regard them differently and must allow them to participate in the above as long as they meet the requirements and regulations. We must actively absorb into the party

according to the regulations of the party constitution those who request to join the party and who meet the requirements. In work, we must attach importance to their opinions and pay attention to bringing their special professional skills into play. Toward those professional personnel who are not applying what they learn, we must try our best to make readjustments so that they can use their talents to the full and we can put their talents to full use. In livelihood, we must show concern for them, work hard to assist them in improving working and living conditions and assist them in solving some practical difficulties, so as to further arouse their dedication to the revolution and political sense of responsibility and to arouse their enthusiasm in doing their bid for the four modernizations.

27. How should we show concern for and cherish our cadres?

Answer: Showing concern for and cherishing cadres is an important content in correctly implementing the party's cadre policy, and is also a necessary factor for mobilizing and giving play to the enthusiasm, initiative and creativeness of the cadres. All leading cadres, party organizations at various levels as well as organizational and personnel departments must take the work of showing concern for and cherishing cadres as their important duty and solve this problem properly ideologically, in work and institutionally.

To show concern for and cherish cadres, we must do a good job in many areas. In particular, we must emphasize the work in the following five areas:

First, we must offer guidance to cadres. We must enable cadres to work boldly, so that they are able to boldly think and act, boldly assume responsibility, take positive initiative and carry out work independently and responsibly under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, without being overcautious. We must give instructions to cadres without delay. We must not only hand over the tasks to cadres but must also remind them of the problems which they should pay attention to and the deviations which may occur in work, and talk things over with them and study methods to resolve problems together. We must provide guidance for correction without delay once we discover that the cadres embrace incorrect ideology, show errors in work or display shortcomings in the style of work. We must not adopt the attitude of noninterference and must not be conniving or accommodating either. We must enable the cadres to receive education without delay and raise their consciousness accordingly. If we only use cadres without giving guidance, give them tasks without teaching them methods, reprimand them without offering guidance, then we not only cannot enable the cadres to grow to maturity and raise their consciousness swiftly, but cannot enable them to do their work effectively and properly either.

Second, we must continue to raise the consciousness of the cadres. This will rely on the constant education of cadres. If we educate our cadres properly, there will be great prospect for our cause. If we do not educate our cadres properly, then there will be no way out for us. At present, the focus of work of the whole party has been shifted onto the four modernizations. The education of cadres has already become an urgent strategic task that is put before the whole party. In showing concern for and cherishing

cadres, we must provide the opportunity for them to receive education, organize them to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and study the party's line, principles, policies and decisions, study cultural, professional, management and scientific and technological knowledge and enable them to make a big stride ahead theoretically, ideologically, politically and professionally, so that they will become competent in the work they shoulder.

Third, we must carry out examination on the work of cadres. The so-called work of examining cadres mainly refers to examining the situation of the cadres in implementing the party's line, principles and policies, examining their style of thinking, style of work and efficiency in work, examining their effort in correctly establishing party style and abiding by discipline and law, and examining their effort in studying politics, theory and profession. Through examination, we can assist cadres in summing up experiences, give prominence to achievements and correct mistakes. This kind of examination is not designed to dampen the enthusiasm of the cadres or find fault with them, but is carried out for the purpose of cherishing the cadres and of warmly and truly assisting them to make improvement. To simply make arrangements for work without carrying out examination, and settle accounts when serious problems occur or when serious mistakes are committed are not ways to cherish cadres.

Fourth, we must assist cadres who have made mistakes to correct their mistakes. It is not the party's correct policy to "wage cruel struggles against and deal merciless blows to" cadres who have made mistakes and not permit them to correct their mistakes. Toward cadres who have made mistakes, our party has all along advocated and adopted the principles of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and "unity--criticism--unity," to assist cadres in recognizing their mistakes, distinguishing right from wrong, summing up their lessons and correcting their mistakes. After they have recognized and corrected their mistakes, we will assign them to appropriate jobs and enable them to be tempered in practice and raise their consciousness. This method has fully embodied the concern which our party shows toward cadres, and is also an indication why our party is growing and flourishing. If we do not allow mistakes to be made and do not allow mistakes to be corrected, and if we push out of the way and topple those who make mistakes and refuse to offer the opportunity to correct mistakes, then we are not truly showing concern for or cherishing our cadres. Hence, we will not be able to attain the goal of strengthening unity and mobilizing the enthusiasm of the cadres.

Fifth, we must take care of the practical difficulties of the cadres. We should attentively take care of the specific difficulties in the livelihood of the cadres and free them of any disturbance in the rear so that they can work for the party and people with wholehearted devotion. Toward party cadres, whether they are in-service cadres or cadres who have lost the ability to work, whether they are old cadres or middle-aged and young cadres, the leading comrades at various levels should take the initiative to show concern for, take care of and assist them in solving practical problems in such aspects as illness, livelihood, family and education for children. If the problems cannot be solved temporarily, they must explain the situation

clearly and actively create the factors for bringing about solution step by step. We must oppose individualism, but must take care of practical difficulties. We must not regard rational requests as individualism, and at the same time must not accommodate irrational requests that encourage individualism.

28. How should we correctly assess the achievements and errors and rights and wrongs of the cadres?

Answer: The correct assessment of the achievements and errors and rights and wrongs of cadres is an important issue which we often encounter in assessing, appointing, dismissing and examining cadres. In the 10 years of internal turmoil of the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" doubted everything and toppled everyone, fabricated charges against cadres, reversed right and wrong, regarded achievements as errors and attacked one for a single fault without considering his other aspects, and brought about extremely serious evil consequences accordingly. We must thoroughly eradicate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and revive and promote the fine tradition of our party in correctly assessing the achievements and errors and rights and wrongs of our cadres.

In correctly assessing the achievements and errors and rights and wrongs of our cadres, the most fundamental rule is to persevere in the principle of seeking truth from facts. In spite of the difference in the length of participation in revolutionary work and in experience, most of our party cadres are good or relatively good. They have all done something beneficial to the party and people and rendered contributions to the party and people. At the same time, for one reason or another, some comrades could not help but make some mistakes here and there. Some mistakes are bigger than others and some are more serious than others. In assessing the achievements and errors and rights and wrongs of our cadres, we must analyze in an all-round manner and historically the performance of our cadres and objectively present their true features, call a spade a spade without either exaggerating or minimizing a case, and pass judgement appropriately and justly. That is a materialist attitude of seeking truth from facts that will withstand the test of history.

To correctly assess the achievements and errors and rights and wrongs of our cadres, we must persevere in the scientific method of dialectic materialism. "We must not only judge the cadres by a single act or a short period of their lives, but must look at the entire history and entire work of the cadres. This is the major method of knowing how to judge cadres." It is in violation to material dialectics if we judge a person apart from his history and with an isolated and static viewpoint. Some comrades only judge cadres by a single act or a short period of their lives without looking at their entire history; only look at certain shortcomings and mistakes without looking at the strong points and achievements; only look at the minor issues without looking at the essence and the main course, or seize upon errors and wrongs without considering achievements and rights or only consider achievements without errors and rights without wrongs. They either affirm everything and say that everything is good; or they negate everything and say that everything

is bad. Obviously, if we do not shatter this metaphysical viewpoint of judging cadres in an isolated, static and onesided fashion, we will not be able to correctly assess the achievements and errors and rights and wrongs of our cadres.

To correctly assess the achievements and errors and rights and wrongs of our cadres, we must persevere in the party character and overcome factions, and must not practice favoritism and harbor prejudices. In assessing cadres, we must take objective facts as the basis and must not draw conclusions based on subjective impressions. We must take the party's policies and party's principles as the yardstick and not individual likes and dislikes and personal feelings as the criteria. In treating cadres, selecting cadres and drawing conclusions about cadres, we must be selfless and frank, and must absolutely not be swayed by personal feelings or personal considerations. Any act that is dependent of the "self," that regards what is good for the "self" as good and what is bad for the "self" as bad; any act that avenges those who oppose us and rewards those who preserve us; any act that proceeds from whom we are intimate with or alienated from; any act that discriminates against others who hold different views; and any act that cultivates personal power is not tolerated by the party character of the party members and is an act that violates the party's policies. We must resolutely overcome it.

To correctly assess the achievements and errors and rights and wrongs of our cadres, we must persevere in following the mass line. In any locality and in any unit, the masses see and remember who is a good cadre and who is not, who does good deeds and who does bad deeds, who does good deeds all his life and who does good deeds for a period of time. They can distinguish clearly between achievements and errors and between rights and wrongs. Thus, in testing and understanding cadres, in selecting, appointing and dismissing cadres, or in drawing an organizational conclusion about cadres, we must widely solicit the appraisal of the masses, respect the opinions of the masses, and carry out analysis and make decision in a down-to-earth manner on the opinions of the masses, then use them as an important basis for assessing cadres.

29. How should we correctly treat cadres who have made mistakes?

Answer: Marxism holds that any political party and any individual cannot help but make mistakes. There is no one who does not make mistakes and it is impossible that one does not make mistakes. As communist party members, we shoulder the great mission of transforming the world and are engaged in a brand new cause which no predecessors have been engaged in. In the long and complex revolutionary process, it is impossible for our cadres to have a subjective understanding that is in full accord with the objective reality, to have not one bit of blindness, to not be influenced by the exploiting class and other nonproletarian ideas and to not make mistakes from beginning to end. Furthermore, having made mistakes, most of our cadres are willing to correct and are capable of correcting their mistakes. After they have done that, they will strengthen their immunity and will mature still further. Thus, we must allow our cadres to make mistakes, allow them to correct their mistakes, and work hard to eradicate the erroneous tendencies of "rather

leaning to the left than to the right" and "left is better than right" which have long existed in this regard. Correctly handling cadres who have made mistakes is the concrete embodiment of the party's concern for the cadres and is an important link in realizing the normalization of life inside the party. It is favorable to converting passive factors into positive factors, favorable to the rapid growth to maturity of the cadres, and favorable to uniting with the majority of cadres to work for the four modernizations with concerted effort.

To correctly handle cadres who have made mistakes, we must first of all conduct specific analysis on the history of the mistakes. The historical environments and subjective factors under which cadres make mistakes are different. Hence, the nature and extent of mistakes are also different. There is a difference between occasional mistakes and repeated mistakes, and there is a difference between blind mistakes and intentional mistakes. Thus, we must conduct specific analysis on the mistakes, in particular on the mistakes committed in the major historical struggles inside the party. We must pay even greater attention to conducting historical analysis so as to distinguish right from wrong, clarify reasons, learn our lessons and avoid repetition of our mistakes. Lenin said: "In analyzing a social problem, the absolute requirement of the Marxist theory is to bring a problem within the scope of history" and "conduct specific analysis on every unique historical situation." This universal Marxist-Leninist principle is of important and realistic significance to us in our present effort to correctly solve the problem of cadres who have made mistakes in the "Great Cultural Revolution." The "Great Cultural Revolution" is a mistake which our party has made involving the overall situation and a long period of time. The erroneous theories, principles and methods of comrade Mao Zedong in the entire movement were utilized and pushed to the extreme by the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, resulting in a unique internal turmoil. Under such circumstances, it was very difficult to fully check this adverse current, and there were very few people who did not say something wrong or do something wrong. In order to correctly handle the large numbers of comrades who have made mistakes under such an abnormal situation in the life inside the party, the party Central Committee clearly proposed that we must look at mistakes in light of the designated historical factors at the time, and insert these important historical factors into the picture, and must not make too harsh demands. In handling historical problems of this type, it is better to do so in rough and general outline instead of in great detail and to do so leniently instead of strictly. We must not settle old historical accounts in an endless manner. We must conduct analysis and make decisions in a down-to-earth manner based on the seriousness of the case, on the historical performance, on whether the essence was good or bad, and on the performance in recent years. We should warmly support comrades who have made mistakes, including those who have made serious mistakes, as long as they are not elements who have all along followed Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in doing bad deeds heart and soul. We must treat leniently and not blame those who have admitted their mistakes, carried out self-examination, clarified their thinking, learned from their lessons and corrected their mistakes in actuality, and must appropriately assign jobs to them and bring their role into play in the four modernizations.

Toward comrades who have made mistakes, we must persevere in the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the disease to save the patient." We must clarify their thinking and at the same time unite with the comrades. If the organization and the comrades take the initiative to warmly approach and assist those who have made mistakes, and do a great deal of work in terms of unity and education, then the people who have made mistakes will feel the warmth of the party and will strengthen the determination and confidence to correct their mistakes. In some localities and units, a negative mood has existed for a long period of time, and that is, whenever a person has made mistakes, he is treated coldly and pushed aside. Other people avoid him, and even his closest comrades dare not greet him. This is the consequence of the "leftist" thinking and the implication of innocence. We must change this mood. In criticizing and helping comrades who have made mistakes, we must proceed from reality and correct the mistakes that are committed without covering up the contradictions or exaggerating the contradictions. In criticizing comrades, we should proceed from the viewpoint of cherishing them, be friendly, be entirely reasonable, be mild and gentle and be fully educational. We should help comrades raise their consciousness and should not be simple and rude, exaggerating, intimidating and should not hit a person when he is down. A person must undergo a certain process from recognizing to correcting one's mistakes. Before he can figure out why, we must not force him to examine himself (of course this does not mean not carrying out self-examination) and more so must not force him to admit everything. We should permit some ideological relapses at points and must not accuse an individual randomly of "reversing verdicts." It is all right as long as the basic problems are clarified. We must not make a person carry out self-examination endlessly. We must profoundly remember the bitter lessons of how Lin Biao and the "gang of four" resorted to fascist measures to obtain confessions and ruin cadres. In the future, we must prohibit without exception the convening of mass criticism and struggle rallies against comrades who have made mistakes. With the exception of individual cases when definite procedure of approval has been undertaken, no one is allowed to arbitrarily carry out examination in isolation or randomly restrict personal freedom. We must all the more strictly prohibit ferreting out and struggle, personal insult, personal persecution and trickery or coercion to secure confessions.

After carrying out self-examination and correction of mistakes, those cadres who have made mistakes must be assigned to appropriate work without delay and must not be "pushed out of the way" over a long period of time. After they take up work, we must treat them equally without discrimination. Only in this way will the cadres who have made mistakes thoroughly lay down their burden and work contentedly and in a down-to-earth manner.

In handling the comrades who have made mistakes organizationally, we must seek truth from facts and proceed from reality and must not drag along rules and regulations and make subjective assumptions. We must handle problems accurately through meticulous investigations and study and repeated verifications, truly make sure that the materials are not exaggerated, and draw conclusions that are appropriate and that can be fully tested by facts and history. We must absolutely not be biased and must not take one or two

statements of certain individuals or organizations or materials that are not verified as our primary basis. We must allow individuals to argue their cases and allow others to defend the comrades who have made mistakes. Those who have not done their work well and have also made mistakes are allowed to resign or change jobs. We must handle discreetly and safely those whom we must take disciplinary measures against. If we are not clear whether it is a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves or a contradiction among the people, we must first handle it as a contradiction among the people. We must be particularly careful when it comes to dismissing an individual from party membership, dismissing an individual from public office and referring an individual for handling by the judicial organ. We must leave some leeway in drawing conclusions and handling a case. Conclusions and decisions on handling must be derived from the collective discussion of the party committee, and must not be based on the ideas of an individual or a few people. In addition, we should meet with the individual involved personally, listen to his ideas and allow him to have reservations. No matter who the person is and under whatever circumstances mistakes are made, whoever makes mistakes will be held responsible. We must not criticize the person's collusion with the leading group who is wrong and must not involve relatives and friends.

The comrades who have made mistakes must not only ask to be handled correctly by the organization and comrades, but must first of all correctly recognize their own mistakes. All the comrades who have made mistakes must not conceal their faults for fear of criticism, must modestly and sincerely accept the criticism and assistance from the organization and comrades. Having made mistakes, they must be bold in facing and admitting mistakes, bold in carrying out self-criticism, discover the subjective reasons for making mistakes, learn from their lessons, make amends for their faults by good deeds and do better work for the party. If they have clearly made mistakes and yet obstinately refuse to admit them, refuse to carry out self-examination, refuse to accept the correct conclusion and correct handling by the organization, refuse to accept criticism and assistance, make trouble wilfully, lodge complaints everywhere and even refuse to shoulder responsibility and refuse to work, then, not only will they fail to correctly realize and correct their mistakes, but will go farther and farther on the road of mistakes and develop to the stage when they may set themselves in opposition to the party and the people. This is very dangerous. Toward these people, the party organization must carry out strict criticism and education and must absolutely not tolerate or accommodate them. If they still fail to correct their mistakes after education, then they will be handled conscientiously. We must draw a distinction between right and wrong and between reward and penalty.

Chapter 3: The Training and Selection of Cadres

30. Why should we make the cadre ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent?

Answer: A major principle in the cadre's work of the party in the new stage is to make the cadre ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent. This principle was formulated by the party Central Committee after careful consideration and repeated deliberations and on the basis of pooling the wisdom of the masses. It not only conforms to objective reality but also to the common aspiration of the party and people.

Making the cadre ranks younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent under the prerequisite of making them more revolutionary is a demand for rapidly developing socialist modernization in our country and is a necessity in solving properly the problems of cooperation between veteran and new cadres and succession of the old by the new.

Using the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee as a milestone, our country has entered a new historical stage of development. The general task of the party in this historical stage is to unite the people of all nationalities throughout the country in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and to make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country. The 12th Party Congress has defined the correct program, the strategic measures and the principles and tasks of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization in order to build our country into a modern and powerful socialist country by the end of this century. This is an unprecedented great beginning with extremely arduous tasks. In order to meet the demands of rapidly developing socialist modernization, we must train and prepare cadre ranks that are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent. This is a strategic issue that is related to the success or failure of our cause.

However, due to a variety of reasons, the present situation of our cadre ranks still fails to meet the needs of the new situation. The current prominent problems are: first, the average age of the leading groups at various levels is 15 to 20 years older than that prior to the "Great

Cultural Revolution: and is much older than that of the 1950's. The phenomenon of "aging" is serious. Second, many cadres lack cultural, scientific and technological knowledge. There are relatively few people who have undergone institutional and professional training and who have knowledge of advanced science and technology and management. An acute contradiction has been formed between this situation and the demand for socialist modernization. How can we solve this contradiction? The correct approach is to step by step make the cadre ranks younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent under the prerequisite of persevering in making them more revolutionary. The historical experience of socialism as well as the present reality in our country tell us that if we ignore the demand put forth by the objective progress of this great historical transition, and if we fail to put forth without delay a correct principle for appropriately solving this contradiction and fail to solve properly the problem of cooperation between the veteran and the new and succession of the old by the new, then complications may appear in our cause, and we will have difficulty implementing the party's political line. We cannot even begin to talk about continuing our cause and there will be no hope for the socialist modernization.

The "four modernizations" of the cadre ranks must begin with the "modernization" of the leading groups at various levels. This means we must solve properly the problem of "retreat" and "advance." On the one hand, we must resolutely act in accordance with the decision of the central authorities on establishing the retirement and resignation systems for veteran cadres as well as concerned regulations of the State Council, and conscientiously and appropriately arrange for a group of comrades who are older and physically weaker to retreat to the second and third lines. On the other hand, we must resolutely act in accordance with the basic requirements of leading cadres defined by the party Constitution, promote thousands and tens of thousands of middle-aged and young cadres and select those young cadres who have been tested and are definitely outstanding to the leading groups at various levels.

Making the cadre ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent is a long-term task. This is because the "four modernizations" of the cadre ranks cannot be realized overnight. At the same time, people age every year. Those who are in the prime of life this year will be old and physically weak years later. Furthermore, with the development of the cause, we will continue to make higher demands on making cadres more revolutionary, better educated and professionally more competent. Besides, whether or not the newly selected individuals are competent in practical work must also be tested and changes will take place. Thus, from now on, we must truly change our stand on cadre's work to realizing the "four modernization" of the cadre ranks, vigorously strengthen the education and training of cadres and basically improve the quality of cadre ranks in all fields, so that our cadres can shoulder the heavy tasks entrusted to them by history.

31. Why must we work strenuously to strengthen the education and training of cadres?

Answer: In his report to the 12th Party Congress, comrade Hu Yaobang said: "We must work strenuously to strengthen the education and training of cadres in order to prepare large numbers of specialized personnel needed for socialist modernization." He also clearly pointed out that "the training of cadres in rotation is an important strategic measure for enhancing their quality."

Our party and state cadres are not only the leaders in serving the people wholeheartedly, but also the concrete organizers and leaders for socialist modernization. They shoulder definite tasks with different responsibilities. The quality of the cadre ranks and the ability to meet the demands of the general task are related to the success or failure of the socialist cause and to the rise and fall of the party and state. Thus, to train cadres in a planned manner and on a large scale, raise the quality of the cadre ranks and prepare large numbers of specialized personnel needed for socialist modernization are a demand of the modernization, are an urgent request for forging ahead into the future and guaranteeing the continuation of the party's line, and are a strategic task of great urgency placed before the whole party.

Our party enjoys the historical tradition of attaching importance to fostering and training cadres. As early as the revolutionary war years, our party organized on the one hand the broad masses of cadres to study and improve themselves in revolutionary practice. On the other hand, in the midst of great hardship, we also set up all kinds of cadre schools, which prepared large numbers of cadres for managing the party, the army and the country, thereby seizing victory in the revolution. Since the nation's founding, in order to meet the needs of large-scale economic construction, and in order to enable the broad masses of cadres to master the skills and knowledge of construction which they originally lacked, our party has adopted a series of effective measures to vigorously initiate and organize cadres to carry out on-the-job studies. At the same time, we set up party schools, cadre schools and worker-peasant crash accelerated secondary schools, and selected and sent young cadres to attend universities. In addition, we vigorously developed national education, enabled the level of knowledge and professional ability of the cadre ranks to improve markedly, and trained and prepared large numbers of skilled personnel in construction. In response to the call of the party, many cadres tirelessly and diligently studied for a long period of time, and transformed themselves from amateurs to professionals. Some comrades even became specialists who were proficient in professional work. Most of the key leading personnel and key professionals who are active on all fronts at present were trained during the period of the revolutionary wars and the early days of the nation's founding. However, since the late 1950's, as a result of faults in the guiding thinking of the party, the work of training cadres gradually weakened, and the cadres who studied professional knowledge assiduously were suppressed. In particular, during the 10 years of internal turmoil, both the education of the cadres and national education were seriously wrecked and undermined. This held up the study and improvement of the older, middle-aged and young people. As a result, the theoretical, intellectual and professional levels of the present cadre ranks lag far behind the needs of work. This is an extremely profound lesson. Now, we must not delay this great matter any further. The positive and negative experiences have

told us that: when we strengthen the education and training of cadres, our cause will develop smoothly. When we neglect the education and training of cadres, our cause will encounter obstacles and suffer losses.

In the new historical period, our party must lead the people of all nationalities throughout the country to build the economically and culturally backward China into a powerful and modern socialist nation. This is an extremely arduous as well as a great task put before the whole party and all cadres. Our country's cadre ranks, by and large, are good and relatively good. However, in light of the demands of the new historical tasks, the quality of our cadre ranks still lags far behind. Generally speaking, our cadre ranks not only fail to meet the needs of realizing the four modernizations in terms of political thinking and style of work, but also fail especially to meet the needs of the four modernizations in terms of cultural knowledge and management ability. According to the statistics at the end of 1981, 40 percent of the cadres throughout the country only had the cultural level of junior high and below. Two-thirds of the leading cadres at and above county level did not receive any professional training at and above secondary professional education. Precisely because of this, since the whole party has shifted the focus of work onto the four modernizations, many comrades profoundly felt the difficulty in making the first step and failed to make breakthroughs. Because of the lack of knowledge, some comrades made mistakes in work and were compelled to pay very heavy prices. An acute contradiction was formed between this situation and the demand of the new situation. In order to solve this contradiction, the party Central Committee and State Council decided to work strenuously to strengthen the education and training of cadres and bring about a fundamental improvement of the quality of the cadre ranks in all fields.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," in particular, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, we have gradually restored and strengthened the education and training of cadres. However, this was only a beginning and the results were not ideal enough. We should be able to see that the fundamental improvement of the quality of the cadre ranks in all fields cannot be solved overnight. At the same time, our cause is advancing, modern science and technology are changing with each passing day and the speed of knowledge updating is faster and faster. Also, we are continuously making higher and higher demands to make the cadre ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent. Even if at present we have already had individuals with definite cultural, scientific and technological knowledge, we will still have difficulty meeting the needs of the rapid development of the socialist modernization if we do not continue to train more people. Only by working strenuously to strengthen the education and training of cadres, by continuously raising the political quality and professional level of the cadres and by steadily training and preparing, in larger quantity and higher quality, cadres who are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent can we guarantee the victorious realization of the general task of the new period.

32. What is the basic task of the education of cadres in the new period?

Answer: The basic task of the education of cadres in the new period is to raise the Marxist theoretical, professional, scientific and cultural levels as well as the leadership and management abilities of all the cadres, and enable them to become the qualified party and state work personnel who persevere in the socialist road and who possess the necessary professional knowledge.

In order to realize this basic task, we must use Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as the guidance, take the resolution of the problem of socialist modernization in our country as the key, organize the broad masses of cadres to conscientiously study the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and study the party's line, principles and policies, enable the cadres to have a good grasp of the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method, and heighten their consciousness of implementing the party's line, principles and policies. In view of the present condition of the cadre ranks, we must attach particular importance to professional study and raise the professional level. Cadres at different levels and of different undertakings should also learn the professional knowledge, scientific knowledge and management knowledge in light of their needs and their own undertakings, thereby raising the level of scientific knowledge and the ability in professional management.

The party committees and departments in charge at various levels must adopt diverse channels and methods to strengthen the education and training of cadres. We must work hard for roughly 5 years to equip cadres with the cultural and professional level at and above the level of high school or secondary professional school; to enable the proportion of cadres with the level of higher education to grow year after year; and to bring about a greater percentage of cadres with the level of higher education in the leading groups at the level of ministries and commissions and the level of departments and bureaus of the central authorities. In this way, a marked change will take place in making all the cadre ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent, and a new situation will appear in all aspects of work.

33. How should we regularize, standardize and institutionalize the education of cadres?

Answer: To regularize, standardize and institutionalize the education of cadres, to train cadres in a planned manner and on a large scale, to basically raise the political quality and professional level of the cadres and to prepare large numbers of specialized personnel for socialist modernization are the needs of modernization and the urgent demand for forging ahead into the future and guaranteeing the continuation of the party's line, and are therefore of major strategic significance.

In order to regularize, standardize and institutionalize the education of cadres, we must clearly formulate some necessary policies and systems:

First, we should include the education of cadres in the plan for national education. The education administrative departments and the various

professional departments must put the education of cadres in their professional plan and system of management and formulate a long-term plan as well as annual plans for the training of cadres.

Second, in light of specific situations, we should decide on the lowest limit of cultural standard and professional level which the cadres of different categories and different levels must attain. The existing cadres of the party and government organs of the central authorities whose educational standard is below the level of junior middle school and whose age is below 40 must, in the next 2 to 3 years, attain the level of junior middle school through cultural make-up lessons. Those who have attained the level of junior middle school but who lack professional knowledge must attain the secondary professional level or level of higher education within 3 to 5 years. In the future, the cadres who are transferred to the party and government organs of the central authorities must at least have the educational standard and professional level equivalent to high school or secondary professional school graduates, or else they will not be transferred. Cadres who are demobilized from the army and who are not equipped with this factor must also undergo training and will only be transferred if they pass the testing.

Third, proceeding from the needs of work and the reality, we should fix the time for cadres to undergo rotational training away from their jobs. All the cadres within the establishment should take part in rotational training by stages and in groups. Generally, they should take part in study for half a year away from their jobs once every 3 years. As for those cadres who require longer periods of training, arrangements can be made to concentrate two to three different periods of study away from the job into one. As for those cadres who have already attained the level of higher education, we will primarily enable them to make improvement in work or take half a year off from work to carry out self-study or short-term continuing education in institutions of higher learning or research units, so as to fill in gaps and update knowledge in light of the needs of their respective professional work. As for the university graduates who graduated from or entered the university during the "Great Cultural Revolution," if their professional level has not reached the designated standard, then these people should make up for all the courses which they lack.

Fourth, we must establish and perfect a standard system of schooling and teaching system.

The party schools at various levels and cadre schools of all types must set up one- to two-year cadre training classes and half-year cadre continuing education classes. The cadre training classes of the party schools should enroll outstanding young cadres with definite cultural standard and work experience, and carry out political and professional training on a relatively all-round scale. The cadre continuing education classes should enroll leading cadres and reserve cadres with definite cultural standard, or professional leading cadres of a particular category. The cadre training classes and cadre continuing education classes of the cadre schools should primarily carry out professional training on cadres of their own system. The cadre

schools which have the factors to do so can run continuing education classes for leading cadres to train leading cadres of their own system.

The institutions of higher learning and secondary professional schools must actively create the conditions to run two- to three-year cadre continuing education courses or cadre training classes with relatively short academic term, and enroll the younger cadres in study accordingly. Some institutions of higher learning can also enroll a few young cadres as undergraduates at the institutions of higher learning.

The party schools at various levels and the cadre schools of all types, as well as some designated institutions of higher learning and secondary professional schools must act in accordance with the needs of the socialist modernization and their respective division of labor to set up and perfect the teaching system, revise teaching plans, meticulously compile teaching materials, equip themselves with the necessary teaching facilities, improve their teaching methods and guarantee the teaching quality.

The various systems and units should create the conditions for running cadre non-resident training classes and set up classrooms internally. These classes will be the major form of professional and theoretical training of cadres with the educational standard at and above junior secondary education. This type of non-resident training classes can be divided into secondary professional classes and classes in higher education. The length of schooling for the secondary professional classes will be 1 to 2 years, while the length of schooling for the classes in higher education will be 2 to 3 years. We must have standard teaching plans and must carry out training according to the plans. To solve the problem of teachers, we can adopt such methods as holding enlarged classes or running tape recordings. The various systems and units should also run, either singly or jointly, apart-from-production or sparetime cultural make-up schools to carry out cultural make-up lessons for cadres with a cultural standard below the level of junior middle school.

We should organize cadres to take part in studies in all kinds of schools in society, such as sparetime, correspondence, broadcast and television schools. Those who pass the examination upon graduation will be honored with corresponding academic qualifications. We should advocate and encourage cadres to take part in self-education and should acknowledge those who acquire skills through self-education.

Fifth, we should integrate the training of cadres with the appointment of cadres. In using and promoting cadres, we must regard with equal importance their record of formal schooling and their academic achievements on the one hand and their work experience and achievements in work on the other. For this purpose, we should set up a system of assessing and testing cadres and record their academic achievements in their dossiers. Corresponding record of formal schooling will be given to those who have completed the designated necessary classes and who have passed the tests accordingly. All things considered, we should give priority to promoting those who have outstanding academic achievements and who have also been able to apply their results in practical work.

Sixth, we should make arrangements in a planned manner to send those young cadres who possess the standard of higher education but who lack experience in basic-level work to obtain experience in practical work on the first front.

Seventh, the wages, welfare and other treatments, including wage increase, of cadres during the period of study away from their jobs should be the same as those cadres at their work posts, and the original work unit at which the cadres work will be responsible for resolving these issues.

34. Why do we say that working strenuously to train and select outstanding middle-aged and young cadres is an urgent strategic task?

Answer: The training and selection of outstanding middle-aged and young cadres is a strategic policy decision of the party Central Committee. From the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee to the present, the leading comrades of the central authorities have on many occasions expounded the strategic significance of selecting middle-aged and young cadres and emphasized the urgency in doing a good job of this matter of importance. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: The problem we are facing now is the lack of cadres who are in their prime of life and who possess professional knowledge. Without these cadres, we cannot carry out the four modernizations. Our veteran comrades must soberly realize that we should not procrastinate in this matter of selecting successors. Otherwise, the four modernizations will become idle talk. Comrade Chen Yun also pointed out that: We should soberly realize that, due to a variety of reasons, for a considerably long period of time, the cadre ranks of our party have manifested the problem of aging to varying degrees as well as the problem of temporary shortage. If we do not solve this problem now or fail to solve this problem properly, complications in the communist cause may appear in China. Every comrade, particularly every veteran comrade, should understand the seriousness and urgency of this problem. In his report at the 12th Party Congress, comrade Hu Yaobang again further emphasized the necessary to promote large numbers of energetic young and middle-aged cadres who possess both political integrity and ability to various leading posts, so that they can be tempered over a longer period practically and effectively by working with older cadres and taking over responsibilities from them and so that the leading bodies at all levels can continuously absorb new life-blood and talent to maintain their vigor.

Our country has already victoriously realized a great historical transition. The party is facing the arduous task of creating a new situation in an all-round manner of socialist modernization. The masses of people have also made higher demands on the leadership at various levels. Therefore, as in the early days since the nation's founding, the leading comrades at various levels must closely integrate with the masses and penetrate into reality regularly to personally understand the situations, solve problems without delay and command work with high quality and high efficiency. To do so, we must have large numbers of politically reliable men of action who possess definite professional knowledge and leadership capability and who are also in their prime of life. However, at present, our leading groups at various levels are generally aging with relatively low cultural level and with a

shortage of professional cadres. This presents an extremely prominent contradiction. If we do not emphasize the solution to this problem, we will then forfeit our cause.

In regard to our long-term interest, to realize the proletarian revolutionary cause initiated by the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, build a powerful socialist country and advance toward the great goal of communism, it will take the protracted and arduous struggle of many generations of people. This is not something that can be accomplished by one or two generations of people. At present, our party has already had a correct line and a series of principles and policies and has determined the goal of struggle in the next 20 years. The key to whether or not we can smoothly put our goal into practice lies with the cadres and lies with the question of whether or not we can select and distribute cadres properly in accordance with the demand of the central authorities. Thus, we must work strenuously to train and select outstanding middle-aged and young cadres. Just as comrade Chen Yun pointed out in his speech at the 12th Party Congress: "We must promote thousands and tens of thousands of them, and not just several dozens or hundreds of them." Only in this way can we have people to succeed to the work of large numbers of veteran cadres who are retiring from the leading groups at various levels. Only in this way can we have greater room for choice and hand over the work to the truly reliable people. Only in this way can we make sure that those elements who were promoted during the "Great Cultural Revolution" to stir up trouble will not be able to create big trouble in the future. This is related to the great issue of whether or not our cause can be passed from one generation to another and will grow and flourish with no lack of successors. This is also an urgent strategic task that is related to the long-term interest and prospect of our party and country.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, in accordance with the spirit of the series of directives of the central authorities on training and selecting outstanding middle-aged and young cadres, the whole party has done a great deal of work in selecting a number of outstanding middle-aged and young cadres into the leading group. The organizational reform of the organs of the central authorities and the state was an examination of the work of fostering middle-aged and young cadres. However, in terms of the whole party, the development of the work of training and selecting middle-aged and young cadres is still unbalanced and is still far from the demand made by the central authorities. The whole party and the various trades and undertakings must therefore understand the importance and urgency of this problem, adopt effective measures to accelerate the pace of training and selecting outstanding middle-aged and young cadres, realize as soon as possible the demand to make the leading group more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent, and provide the organizational guarantee for creating a new situation for socialist modernization in an all-round manner.

35. What problems should we pay attention to in training and selecting middle-aged and young cadres?

Answer: The training and selection of middle-aged and young cadres is a project of vital and lasting importance that is related to whether the party's cause will grow and flourish with no lack of successors, and is an urgent strategic task. In training and selecting middle-aged and young cadres, we must pay attention to the following problems:

(1) We must strictly persevere in the party's criteria for cadres. In training and selecting middle-aged and young cadres, we must persevere in the criteria for choosing personnel in the new period and meet the demand of choosing those who are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent. We must pay special attention to examining the performance of the cadres in the "Great Cultural Revolution" and since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, and avoid in a down-to-earth manner bringing into the leading groups those people who thrived as rebels, those people who embrace serious factional thinking, those smash-and-grabbers, those people who oppose the line of the party Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee and those people who were involved in serious acts of violation against the law and discipline. We must not select anyone with bad morals. We also must not select those people who have political integrity but no ability. We must select those cadres who persevere in implementing the party's line, principles and policies and who are able to make breakthroughs. We must not bring into the leading groups peacemakers, those who try never to offend anybody and those who are practically unable to make breakthroughs. Age must be taken into account with the criterion of possessing political integrity and ability. We must not only take age into account and ignore one's political integrity and ability. It is onesided and erroneous to consider political integrity without considering ability, or to recognize ability without recognizing political ability, or still more to consider only the age limits without taking political integrity and ability into account.

(2) We must persevere in the mass line. We must hand over the party's cadre policy and criteria of selecting cadres to the masses, mobilize the masses and rely on them to discover, spot and recommend skilled personnel. On this basis, through the penetrating and meticulous examination of the organizational and personnel departments, the party committee will carry out final discussion and make decision collectively. We must repeatedly consider and deliberate on the selected targets, select the outstanding from the good, guarantee quality and prevent the interference of any evil tendency. If we only let a few comrades of the leading level or organizational and personnel departments to prepare a list of candidates behind closed doors and not fully follow the mass line, we will not be able to select in large numbers those outstanding middle-aged and young cadres whom the masses truly trust and support.

(3) We must give full play to the role of the veteran cadres. A task of foremost importance for the veteran cadres is the training and selection of middle-aged and young cadres. The veteran cadres have relatively rich experience in leadership work and know the middle-aged and young cadres who are working in their locality, department or unit relatively well. Thus, in

training and selecting middle-aged and young cadres, we must pay attention to listening to their opinions. If we depart from the experience of the veteran cadres in training new hands and fail to pay attention to bringing into full play the positive role of the veteran comrades in this respect, we will encounter great difficulties in training and selecting middle-aged and young cadres.

(4) We must pay attention to selecting outstanding middle-aged and young cadres to shoulder the primary responsibility of leadership. At present, the major leading cadres of various localities and departments are relatively older. In light of practical needs, some veteran comrades must still remain on the first front temporarily. However, the primary energy of these comrades should no longer be used in handling the heavy daily work, but should be used in giving help to and setting examples for training new hands as well as in offering ideas and making checks on major issues. If we do not put our hands to solve this problem consciously, serious mistakes will result. Thus, in selecting middle-aged and young cadres, we not only must boldly promote the qualified cadres to leading posts at various levels, but more importantly must put the outstanding cadres with great prospects in the major leading posts in a planned manner, so as to enable them to shoulder primary responsibility in leadership as soon as possible. This is the focus of doing a good job of fostering successors. We must solve this problem practically and realistically.

(5) The core issue of selecting middle-aged and young cadres is to boldly select intellectuals who have been tested through practice, who have both political integrity and ability and who are in their prime of life. In particular, we must select outstanding skilled personnel from the university students whom we have fostered and the intellectuals who have attained university level through assiduous individual study since the nation's founding to shoulder all kinds of responsibility of leadership.

(6) We must make strict demands on young cadres, boldly use them and warmly support them. We must educate them about consciously maintaining political unanimity with the party Central Committee; wholeheartedly handling affairs for the masses and acting as good public servants of the people in work; and struggling arduously and seeking no personal privileges in their style of living. Party organizations must regularly listen to the masses' report regarding the young cadres who have been selected, talk to these cadres without delay, affirm their achievements and point out the orientation for hard work. Making bold use of them means putting them on the first front according to the political integrity and ability of individual cadres, train and temper them in practice and enable their ability to grow. Warmly supporting them means not only helping them mount the horse but going part of the way with them, backing them up, assisting them in overcoming difficulties in work and supporting them in working boldly.

36. How should we set up and perfect the system of a reserve list of leading cadres?

Answer: To set up a reserve list of leading cadres is an important measure in training outstanding middle-aged and young cadres and in selecting

successors accurately and properly. It is a guarantee for more initiative and more planning in the work of allocating cadres. The party committees at various levels must set up and perfect this system.

First, we must persevere in the basic criteria of leading cadres, fully follow the mass line and arrive at understanding through conscientious examination. In deciding the list, we must guard the political pass properly and must absolutely not put on our reserve list those people who followed closely Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others in rebellion, those people who embrace serious factional thinking, those smash-and-grabbers as well as those people who oppose the line of the party Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee and those people who are involved in serious acts of violating law and discipline. We must hand over the party's cadre policy and the criteria for successors to the masses, mobilize and rely on the masses to discover and spot the outstanding skilled personnel, let the masses carry out assessments and make recommendations, and listen to the masses' ideas in various respects. On this basis, through the meticulous examination and selection by the organizational and personnel departments, the party committee will then carry out discussion and make decision collectively. Solely relying on looking through dossiers and relying on the impression of a few leading personnel to decide on a reserve list are not only narrow-sighted but limited. Also, we may make errors easily and may have much difficulty making accurate and proper selections.

Second, we must clarify our duty and carry out management at separate levels. Generally, the party committees at various levels should be responsible for managing separately the reserve list of cadres after it is fixed. The higher level party committees should be responsible for promoting cadres to primary functions of leadership. The higher level party committees and their organizational departments should carry out examination and understand as well as have a good grasp of the overall situation of how the lower level leading organs decide on the primary functions of leadership of the reserve cadres.

Third, we must carry out training in a planned manner. After the reserve list of leading cadres is fixed, we must take into consideration the necessary factors for drawing up functions, adopt the method of supplementary what is lacking and carry out training in a planned manner and with emphasis and help the cadres grow to maturity. Toward those comrades who have long been engaged in practical work but lack cultural and theoretical knowledge, we should make arrangements for them to study for a period of time in order to compensate their inadequacy in theoretical understanding and scientific and cultural knowledge. Toward those comrades who have long worked in the leading organs, we should make appropriate arrangements to transfer them to the lower level to be tempered, so as to enable them to raise their ability in practical work. In short, we must fix the direction of training in line with the individual, pay attention to results, practically and realistically raise their political and theoretical level, their business level as well as their ability in organizational leadership.

Fourth, we must carry out examination at fixed intervals and make readjustments without delay. The situation of the reserve cadres is continuously

developing and changing. The party organizations should carry out overall examination at fixed intervals on their political integrity and ability. Toward those who have outstanding performance, we should promote to appropriate leading posts without delay. Toward those who do not meet the requirements, we must carry out readjustment without delay and continuously consolidate the new reserve cadres.

37. Why must we pay attention to training and selecting cadres of minority nationalities?

Answer: The Party Constitution stipulated that we should attach importance to training and selecting cadres of minority nationalities. Our country is a socialist country of many nationalities. Unity among nationalities, equality among nationalities and common prosperity among all nationalities are important issues relating to the country's destiny. Since the nation's founding, the party organizations at various levels have conscientiously implemented the party's policy on nationalities, trained and selected large numbers of cadres of minority nationalities, strengthened the relationship between the party and the people of minority nationalities, and consolidated the unity among all nationalities. Through the unity and cooperation between large numbers of cadres of minority nationalities and cadres of the Han nationality, we waged common effort to lead the masses of people of all nationalities to smoothly launch the democratic reform and the socialist transformation, score great victory in the socialist revolution and construction, and bring about earth-shaking changes in the regions of minority nationalities. Practice has proved that training and selecting cadres of minority nationalities in large numbers are of extremely important significance to implementing the policy of autonomy in all the regions of minority nationalities, to realizing equality among nationalities, to strengthening the unity among nationalities, to consolidating the unification of the motherland, and to defending the motherland's frontier.

The training of large numbers of cadres of minority nationalities is an important component part in the party's nationalities work, and is the key for us in launching work in the regions of minority nationalities and in assisting the progress and development of the various minority nationalities. Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out that promoting the autonomy of the nationalities regions and training cadres of minority nationalities are two key tasks in the work on minority nationalities. "Without large numbers of communist cadres of minority nationalities, it is impossible to thoroughly solve the nationalities issue and totally isolate the reactionaries among nationalities." The cadres of minority nationalities understand the situation of their own nationality, are familiar with the people and the place, the customs and habits, and the spoken and written languages, and are linked with the masses of their own nationality in many ways. They are the bridge that links the party with the masses of minority nationalities, and are the core force for the party in implementing autonomy of the nationalities regions and in implementing the party's line, principles and policies.

Our party has all along attached importance to training and selecting cadres of minority nationalities and has scored tremendous achievements accordingly.

However, during the 10 years of internal turmoil, the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have brought about great harm to the nationalities work, and has seriously affected the growth of cadres of minority nationalities. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee has made a series of important decisions on the nationalities issue, corrected the "leftist" mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution" as well as prior to that, revived the fine relationship among nationalities and scored marked results accordingly. We have also repeatedly emphasized the necessity to work strenuously to train and select cadres of minority nationalities, and enable the cadres of minority nationalities to grow to maturity as rapidly as possible, in greater numbers and in a better manner, so as to meet the needs of the four modernizations. Thus, the party committees at various levels must make use of diverse forms to assist the cadres of minority nationalities to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, study cultural knowledge and science and technology, and raise their political quality and professional skills. We must promote without delay those cadres of minority nationalities who have sound political thinking, who know the policies regarding nationalities and who are more familiar with professional work to the leading posts at various levels and in various sectors. We must also pay attention to training large numbers of professional and technological cadres of minority nationalities.

38. Why must we pay attention to training and selecting female cadres?

Answer: Women in China form a great revolutionary force. In the various historical stages of our country's revolution, whether in the war years or in the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the broad masses of women fought on the various fronts under the leadership of the party and rendered indelible contributions accordingly. In the new historical period, women not only form an important force in our country's economic construction, but embrace specially important role in the building of a socialist spiritual civilization. Paying attention to training and selecting female cadres, letting them unite the broad masses of women around the party, bringing into full play their enthusiasm, and giving play to their role in the four modernizations in a better manner are the needs of the party's cause and the needs in launching the four modernizations.

For several decades, our party has trained and prepared group after group of outstanding female cadres, who have rendered major contributions to the party's cause. However, the disruption by the "Great Cultural Revolution" which lasted 10 years has seriously affected the healthy growth of the female cadres. According to statistics of concerned departments, currently, in the leading groups at various levels, there are very few female cadres. Generally, they constitute 3 to 6 percent of the total number of cadres. Moreover, the problems of old age and weak health and temporary shortage of leading female cadres are quite prominent. This does not match the role of our country's women in the socialist cause. To change this condition, we must pay special attention to selecting female cadres. After the party has shifted its focus of work onto economic construction, the party Central Committee has repeatedly emphasized the necessity to pay attention to training and selecting female cadres, promote the outstanding female cadres,

especially the middle-aged and young female cadres, to leading posts, and gradually change the situation of the unusually low percentage of female cadres in the leading cadres at various levels. This is an important approach to widely pooling skilled personnel for realizing the four modernizations, and is also an important content in strengthening the building of the cadre ranks and the building of leading groups.

An important task of the party committees at various levels is to do a good job of training and selecting female cadres. While training and selecting outstanding middle-aged and young cadres, we must pay special attention to selecting outstanding female cadres. We must persevere in equal treatment without discrimination among male and female cadres, and train them and select them without discrimination. We must persevere in having one criterion for male and female cadres, and persevere in having the same ratio of female cadres in the leading groups at various levels. In addition, we must show warm concern to them politically, offer warm assistance in work and show concern and loving care in livelihood. The women's associations, trade unions and communist youth leagues must also regard the training and selection of female cadres as a regular work and act as good assistants to the party. As long as the party committees at various levels and the various sectors attach importance to this issue, we will be able to select the outstanding female cadres to the leading groups and bring into full play the positive role of the female cadres.

Chapter 4: The Management and Testing of Cadres

39. How should we understand and persevere in the principle of the party managing cadres?

Answer: Party managing cadres is a consistent principle of our party and is a basic principle of the system of management over cadres.

The so-called party managing cadres primarily means that the party committee must manage well the implementation of the cadre line and cadre policy, and manage, distribute and use cadres properly according to the principle of democratic centralism and the concerned regulations of the party.

In principle, all cadres should be placed separately under the responsibility of and management by the party Central Committee and the party organizations in various localities, sectors and units. Under this principle, the concerned work of managing cadres can be handled in a unified manner by the organizational department; or, it can also be handled separately by other departments of the party committee. Some can even be handled by the government personnel departments. When the work is handled in a unified manner by the organizational department of the party committee, we must pay attention to giving play to the role of other departments of the party committee. When the work is handled separately by other departments of the party committee, we must pay attention to strengthening the unified leadership of the party committee and the unified comprehensive work of the organizational department. Whether the work is handled separately by different departments or handled by the government personnel department, we must manage well the cadres under the unified leadership of the party committee and according to concerned stipulations by the party. This is in accordance with the principle of party managing cadres.

All party organizations and every party member and cadre must consciously safeguard and persevere in the principle of party managing cadres and wage struggle against the erroneous tendencies that violate this principle. The party committee must carry out discussion and make decision collectively in such matters as the appointment and dismissal, the promotion, the transfer, the examination and the handling of cadres. Then, the party organization in charge will make approval according to the limits of power in cadre management. No one is allowed to act arbitrarily. The cadre issues decided by the party committees at higher level must be implemented by the party

committees at lower level. In respect to the cadre issues which the party committees at the lower level decide to report, if the party committees at the higher level do not feel that they are appropriate, they can change the decision of the party committees at the lower level. On the question of cadres, we resolutely oppose such separatist and departmentalist tendencies as making individual decisions, acting before reporting, bargaining and failing to transfer or dispatch cadres. On the question of cadres, we must resolutely overcome such incorrect tendencies as establishing relationship with somebody, getting in by the back door, engaging in factions, and cultivating personal power. The organizational departments and other departments separately managing cadres of the party committees at various levels, as well as the government personnel departments must, under the unified leadership of the party committee, act in accordance with the demand of the party's political task, persevere in the mass line, and actively do a good job of the testing and understanding, training and education, appointment and dismissal, promotion, transfer, examination of cadres and other concrete tasks, so as to guarantee the correct implementation of the principle of party managing cadres.

40. In launching the work of cadres, why must we persevere in the mass line? How should we persevere in the mass line?

Answer: The mass line is the basic line of work for our party. In launching the work of cadres, persevering in the mass line is favorable to correctly implementing the party's cadre line and cadre policy, preventing and overcoming certain shortcomings and evil tendencies in the work of cadres. It is favorable to shattering such old conventions as mysticism, handicraft industrial mode and consideration of seniority in work and age, to expanding our field of vision in exploring outstanding skilled personnel and selecting successors accurately and properly. It is favorable to understanding cadres accurately and in an all-round manner, to appropriately assessing the political integrity and ability and achievements and mistakes of the cadres, so that we can promote or demote them appropriately and award or penalize them discriminately. It is favorable to arousing the dedication and sense of responsibility of the broad masses of cadres, promoting their consciousness of being the people's public servants and accepting the masses' supervision, enabling them to link together in a better manner the responsibility to the higher level as well as to the lower level, further drawing closer together the relationship between the cadres and the masses, and promoting the healthy growth to maturity of the cadres. Thus, whether in testing and understanding cadres or in selecting and using cadres, or still more in handling cadres who have made mistakes, we must persevere in the mass line. This is an important factor in doing a good job of the work of cadres in the new period.

How should we persevere in the mass line in the work of cadres?

First, the party committees at various levels and the organizational and personnel departments must frequently and continuously propagate and explain to the masses both inside and outside the party the party's cadre policy in the new period, assist the broad masses to correctly understand and grasp the criteria for choosing a person for a job in the new period, enlighten the

masses to be good at discerning skilled personnel, at discovering skilled personnel, and at recommending the virtuous and the able, raise the consciousness and initiative of the masses in assessing and recommending cadres, and overcome the thinking of mysticism and privileges in the work of cadres.

Second, in selecting cadres, we must implement the method of integrating the leadership with the masses. We can first carry out assessment and discussion to a definite extent among the masses, or carry out polling in order to make recommendations from the lower to the higher level. Or, the party organizations can put forth a list on the basis of soliciting the masses' opinions for individual cases, hand the list over to the masses for assessment and discussions, and pay attention to listening to opinions from all angles. The organizational and personnel departments must conscientiously carry out testing and understanding and report to the higher level for approval after the collective discussion and decision by the party committee. The reports must include the masses' comments and opinions. The party committees at the higher level will not approve any reports that do not have the masses' comments and opinions.

Third, we must conscientiously do a good job of democratic election and practically and realistically guarantee the democratic rights of the masses of people in selecting their cadres. As regards cadres who should be elected, we should carry out election as scheduled in accordance with the party constitution and the concerned regulations of the state. In the election, we must give full prominence to democracy, widely solicit opinions from all and truly realize the will of the voters. We should decide on the candidates after repeated deliberations and according to majority opinion. The voters have the right to understand the situation of the candidates, to demand changes of candidates, and to elect none of the candidates but someone else. No organizations or individuals are allowed to employ any means to force the voters to vote for or against a certain individual. We must investigate and handle such illegal activities in an election as instigating factions, carrying out sinister activities and controlling the votes.

Fourth, we must set up and perfect a system for the masses to assess the leading groups and leading cadres. At fixed intervals, the masses of a unit should carry out assessment on the leading cadres at various levels in that unit, and, according to the basic requirements which a leading cadre should meet, assess the cadres' work and style of work, affirm their achievements and point out their shortcomings. On the basis of mass assessment, the organizational and personnel departments will carry out meticulous testing and understanding and write investigative materials accordingly. At the same time, we should revive and perfect the system of appraisal of cadres, carry out appraisal of cadres at fixed intervals, and use the masses' assessments and appraisals as the important basis for awarding and penalizing, appointing and dismissing, and promoting and demoting cadres.

Fifth, the appointment and dismissal, promotion and demotion and award and penalty of cadres should be carried out on the basis of masses' assessment or polling, through the testing and understanding of the organizational and

personnel departments, and through the discussion and decision by the party committee collectively. An individual should not have the final say. Before organizational decisions and announcements are made, no one is allowed to reveal the situation of testing and appointment, dismissal and transfer involving cadres.

41. How should we determine the scope of management of cadres by the party committees at various levels?

Answer: In light of the experiences which our party has accumulated over many years, we should have a list of functions of the cadres shouldering major leadership responsibilities in the party and government organs at various levels and enterprise and professional units, and this will be put under the responsibility of the central authorities and party committees at various levels separately. Under the current situation, the scope of management of cadres by the party committees at various levels should be determined by the following methods:

Toward the party and government organs, generally speaking, we must manage the cadres shouldering major leading functions in the organs at the two levels immediately below. That is to say, the central authorities will manage the ministerial (committee) and departmental (bureau) levels of the organs of the central authorities and the state organs; and will handle the provincial (municipal, autonomous regional) and prefectural (city, zhou and league) levels of the local organs. The provincial, municipal and autonomous regional party committees will handle the bureau (office) and department levels of the organs of the provincial party committee and provincial people's government, and will handle the prefectural (city, zhou and league) and county (city, banner) levels of the local organs. It is because managing only one level below fails to meet the needs of work and also may easily bring about problems. Yet, managing three levels below involves too large a scope and too large a quantity. Practically speaking, we will not be able to handle that and will not be able to handle that properly either. Adopting the method of managing two levels below, we can enable the party committees at various levels to be responsible for managing at several levels the major leading cadres at all levels and in all fields. This will be favorable to preventing erroneous tendencies which might occur.

As for enterprise and professional units, we should determine the scope of management based primarily on their position of importance in the national economy. The major leading comrades of some units are managed by the central authorities; while others are managed either by the department at the level of the central authorities or by local party committees at separate levels. Some departments in charge at higher level only manage the major leading cadres, while the intermediate level cadres can generally be managed by the party committees of the enterprise and professional units themselves.

The central authorities will manage some of the reputable scientists, technological experts, artists, writers, professors, actors and athletes who have rendered major contributions. In addition to management by the central authorities, the various ministries and committees of the central and state

organs and the provincial, municipal, autonomous regional party committees should also make a namelist and carry out management conscientiously.

In accordance with the above-described principles, the party committees at various levels should draw up a list of names of functions of the cadres under their own management and determine a specific scope of management.

Among the cadres managed by the party committees at various levels, some are managed by party committees at two levels or three levels at the same time. In these cases, the party committee at the highest level should be in charge. The party committees at the lower levels must assist in management in respect to testing, assessment, training, education and examination. They can also make suggestions regarding the appointment and dismissal, transfer and award and penalty involving these cadres. But the party committee at the highest level must make the decision regarding the appointment, dismissal and transfer of these cadres.

42. What regulations and criteria do we have regarding the question of holding concurrent positions by leading party and government cadres?

Answer: Many years of experience have proved that having too many leading party and government cadres holding concurrent positions oftentimes will bring about failure to separate party and government and replacement of government by the party. This will not be favorable to strengthening or improving party leadership, will prevent the administrative leadership to bring its proper role into play. This will bring about overcentralization of power on a few people, which will result easily in bureaucratism and incur loss in work through delay. This will be unfavorable to the training and growth to maturity of middle-aged and young cadres. In order to solve the problem of too many leading cadres holding concurrent positions, in recent years, we have successively put forth the following regulations:

On 18 June 1979, the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee clearly pointed out in its "Report to the Central Authorities on the Ideas of Not Allowing the First Secretary of the Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Regional Party Committee to Concurrently Be the Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee and of the Division of Party and Government Work" that we must separate party and government work, and that we must not let one person be first secretary of a provincial, municipal or autonomous regional party committee and concurrently chairman of the revolutionary committee.

On 15 January 1980, the Propaganda Department, the United Front Department and the Organizational Department of the central authorities and the State Scientific and Technological Commission transmitted "Several Ideas on Solving the Problem of Concurrent Positions Held by Too Many Specialists" of the State Personnel Bureau of the Bureau of Scientific and Technological Cadres of the State Council. In this, it was stipulated that: In regard to functions, in addition to his primary function, an administrative leading person can hold another position concurrently inside his own system or unit as necessary. For instance, the director and deputy director of the Chinese Academy of Sciences can concurrently be heads of institutes under the academy,

or the head of an institute can concurrently be the head of a research office. We must not arrange for administrative leadership functions that cross the boundaries of a system or unit.

On 20 April 1981, the Organization Department of the central authorities and the PLA General Political Department issued a notice on the "Problem of Major Leading Comrades of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Regional Party Committees Holding Concurrent Military Functions." Specific regulations were made on the problem of reducing the number of instances in which major leading comrades of the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional party committees were holding military functions concurrently.

In accordance with the demand of division of party and government work, the major leading party and government cadres at various levels take not holding concurrent positions as the principle. If, under special circumstances, a few comrades must hold concurrent positions, they must not shoulder more than two functions in practical work. In addition, they must be truly responsible for the concurrent work which they take on.

43. Why must we establish the system of personal responsibility for cadres?

Answer: An important content in the reform of the cadre system is the establishment of the system of personal responsibility for cadres. This is an effective measure in overcoming bureaucratism and raising work efficiency. The practice of some units after having established the system of personal responsibility for cadres proves that this is favorable to changing the previous conditions in which the limits of duty and responsibility were unclear and the merits were not distinguished from the demerits. This is favorable to overcoming the phenomenon of mutual shifting of responsibility, sluggishness in work and failure to consider efficiency. This is favorable to strengthening the dedication and sense of responsibility of the cadres, and to bringing into play their initiative, enthusiasm and creativeness. This is favorable to raising the political quality and business level of the cadres and to preparing skilled personnel that meet the needs of socialist modernization in a greater and faster manner. This is favorable to strengthening the supervision and examination of the party organizations and the masses on the cadres, and to testing, understanding and using the cadres in an even more proper manner.

To set up the system of personal responsibility for cadres, we should act in accordance with the demand of the system of personal responsibility, proceed from the advanced level of the cadres of the same category and level, separately formulate the scope of duty for cadres of different categories and levels, and clarify the duties which each cadre should shoulder and when the tasks should be fulfilled, and the level of awareness of ideology and policy and professional ability which a cadre must possess, and so on and so forth. In some work, we should also formulate rational procedures and necessary time limits, as well as the criteria for efficiency in and quality of work.

The party organizations and administrative leadership of various units must inspect at fixed intervals the situation of the implementation of the system

of personal responsibility for cadres. Those units which have already established the system of assessing cadres should integrate this inspection with the assessment of cadres. We must commend or appropriately award those who have conscientiously executed their personal responsibility with marked results and made prominent contributions. The specially outstanding ones can be promoted. Those who fail to perform their duty competently must be given a time limit to change. When no change occurs at the end of the time limit, we can make other arrangements for work that is commensurate to their ability. Toward those who manifest serious negligence or dereliction of duty, bringing about tremendous losses to the interests of the country and people, we must investigate and affix administrative responsibility, economic responsibility and legal responsibility.

44. How should we set up and perfect the system of assessment for cadres?

Answer: Setting up and perfecting the system of assessment for cadres is an important content in the reform of the cadre system, a demand for cadres to be more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent, and an important measure in strengthening the building of the cadre ranks. This is of major significance to encouraging the advanced and urging on the backward; changing the situation in which the good is not distinguished from the bad, in which award is not distinguished from penalty, in which one can only go in and not come out and can only be promoted but not demoted; arousing the enthusiasm, initiative and creativeness of the cadres; and to raising the quality of the cadres, changing their style of work, overcoming bureaucratism, and raising efficiency in work.

In setting up and perfecting the system of assessment for cadres, first of all, we must abide by the principle of having both political integrity and ability in stipulating clear and specific contents and criteria for assessment. We should carry out assessment with emphasis on the following four aspects: One, assessing political integrity, which is primarily assessing one's political stand and ideological character. Two, assessing ability, which is primarily assessing professional ability and management level. Three, assessing diligence, which is primarily assessing the situation of attendance and the attitude toward work. Four, assessing results, which is primarily assessing work results and efficiency in work. Five, assessing the results of the study, which is primarily assessing the situation of studying politics, theory and profession. The contents and criteria of assessment must be formulated according to the factors which the cadres of different categories and different functions are equipped with in terms of their characteristics and their competence in their job, and formulated by adopting the method of the three-in-one combination of leadership, specialists and masses on the basis of carrying out investigations and study in depth and soliciting opinions on a popular scale. We must put forth strict demands as well as proceed from the existing level of the cadres in a down-to-earth and feasible manner. Toward the leading cadres, we should make strict demands according to the basic criteria of the leading cadres.

Secondly, we must implement the method of integrating assessment of leadership with appraisal by the masses, and integrate routine testing with

assessment at fixed intervals. Routine testing is the basis for assessment at fixed intervals. We must carry out regular testing by various means in a planned manner to understand the cadres. Assessment at fixed intervals can be carried out once a year or one every 2 years. Assessment at fixed intervals can adopt different methods in accordance with the characteristics and contents of assessment of different categories of cadres. The various categories of cadres should popularly set up the system of personal responsibility and carry out assessment according to the criteria of the system of personal responsibility. We should write assessment reports on all the cadres taking part in the assessment, and these materials will be inserted into personal dossiers after the examination for approval by the party organizations.

Thirdly, we must link the results of assessment with use, promotion and demotion and award and penalty. Toward the outstanding elements who have scored marked achievements in work and study, we can offer spiritual encouragement or material reward, we can promote them, and we can select some to the leading posts. Toward those cadres who have not reached the criteria of assessment, we must create the conditions for them to make improvement in study and training, encourage them to make progress and fix a date for them to reach their criteria. We should reassign those who fail to reach the criteria at a fixed date to other work.

Fourthly, the work of assessing cadres should be done within the limits of authority of cadre management, under the leadership of the party organization and under the responsibility of the organizational and personnel departments. While carrying out assessment at fixed intervals, we should absorb the leading cadres, professional and technological cadres and organizational and personnel cadres who are honest and fair, who have a strong sense of principle and who enjoy prestige among the masses, and organize them into a temporary assessment organization to shoulder the specific responsibility of assessment and appraisal under the leadership of the party committee.

The establishment of the system of assessment for cadres is a new work involving complex situation and a broad area of work. The work load is large and we lack experience therein. We must carry out propaganda in scope and in depth on the important significance of assessment of cadres, carry out ideological and political work well, raise our understanding and unify our thinking. We must launch pilot projects, sum up experiences accordingly and carry out the work in a planned manner and step by step, and gradually set up a practical and realistic system of assessment for cadres.

45. Why should we set up and perfect the system of appraisal for cadres? What issues should we pay attention to?

Answer: The system of appraisal for cadres is a fine tradition in our party and has played a positive role in the past. It not only is an effective method of educating and supervising cadres, but is also an important measure in testing and understanding cadres. Through appraisal, the cadres can correctly understand themselves, give prominence to their own strong points, overcome their own weaknesses, raise their ideological level and

business ability, and continue to improve their work. Also, the party organizations will be able to know the cadres well and understand them in a systematic and all-round manner. Thus, we should popularly set up the system of appraisal for cadres and continue to improve it in light of the new situation.

In carrying out appraisal for cadres, we should pay attention to the following questions:

First, all cadres, including leading cadres at various levels, should be appraised every 2 or 3 years. Before a cadre is transferred in work or promoted to assume leadership responsibility, appraisal should be carried out if the previous appraisal is done more than a year ago. Appraisal should also be carried out for those who are in temporary work or involved in study away from their job for over half a year.

Second, the appraisal of cadres generally should be done on the basis of individual summation and examination. Then, through the appraisal and discussion by the masses, the party organization of the unit to which the cadre belongs will make a final and formal organizational appraisal. Appraisal must be based on facts, must be done in an objective and all-round manner, and must affirm results and at the same time point out shortcomings and clarify the orientation for hard work in the future. Toward those comrades who have made mistakes, including those who have made serious mistakes, we must persevere in the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and cure the illness to save the patient," and warmly help them recognize their mistakes, carry out self-examination in a profound manner, sort out their thinking, and learn from their lessons. As long as they make progress, we should give encouragement and not simply be rough and exaggerate their mistakes.

Third, we should vigorously guard against emptiness and generalization in the content of appraisal. We must proceed from reality, emphasize the major issues in light of the different stages and different situations of the cadres, briefly list the prominent cases and conduct analysis on them, and arrive at appropriate conclusions.

Fourth, in carrying out organizational appraisal, we must meet with the individual himself or herself. If the individual disagrees with the organizational appraisal, the party organization should conscientiously listen to his or her opinions and consider them accordingly, should absorb what is rational and should convince or educate the individual about what is irrational. If the individual still has disagreements, he or she is permitted to have reservations, and the opinions of the organizational appraisal and the individual should both be put in the individual's dossiers.

46. Why must we assess the cadre's professional title? How do we determine the professional titles of the various categories of cadres?

Answer: The assessment of professional titles for various categories of cadres is an effective measure in promoting the development of our country's

political, economic, scientific and technological and cultural and educational causes, and is also an important approach to promoting the development of the cadre ranks in a better educated and professionally more competent direction.

Its advantages are:

First, it is favorable to arousing the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres, increase their fervor in their own work and bring into play in a better manner their positive role in the four modernizations.

Second, it is favorable to changing the previous situation in which there is no difference between a high and a low level of technological knowledge, between a high and low professional ability, and between good and poor work and study. In this way, we can enable the cadres to clarify their orientation for hard work and goal of struggle, and inspire their consciousness of making progress actively and assiduously gain professional proficiency.

Third, it is favorable to broadening the field of vision of the party organizations at various levels in the selection of skilled personnel, and to enabling them to discover more and better skilled personnel.

Fourth, it is favorable to enabling the party organizations at various levels to understand the quantity, quality, distribution and situation of use of the various categories of professional cadres, thereby providing the objective basis for strengthening the work of cadre management and the rational use of cadres.

The following are the presently formally announced technical and professional titles for the various categories of cadres:

Academic research titles for scientific research personnel: Researcher, research associate, research assistant, research intern.

Technical titles for engineering and technological cadres: Senior engineer, engineer, assistant engineer, technician.

Technical titles for agrotechnical cadres: Senior agronomist, agronomist, assistant agronomist, agrotechnician.

Professional titles for agricultural economic management cadres: Senior agricultural economist, agricultural economist, assistant agricultural economist, agricultural economic technician.

Titles for teachers of institutions of higher learning: Professor, associate professor, lecturer, teaching assistant.

Titles for teachers of secondary professional schools and cultural and technical theoretical classes of mechanics schools: Associate professor, lecturer, instructor, teaching intern.

Titles for health technology personnel and technological titles for health technology management cadres: Medical director (medical, nursing, technical), deputy medical director (medical, nursing, technical), head (in charge) doctor (medical, technical), doctor (medical, nursing, technical), practitioner (medical, nursing, technical, birthing), sanitation and antiepidemic personnel (women and children health care personnel, pharmacist, nurse, intern).

Professional titles for economic professional cadres: Senior economist, economist, assistant economist, economic worker.

Technical titles for statistical cadres: Senior statistician, statistician, assistant statistician, statistical worker.

Technical titles for accounting cadres: Senior accountant, accountant, assistant accountant, bookkeeper.

Professional titles for editing cadres: Chief editor, associate editor, editor, assistant editor.

Professional titles for news correspondents: Special correspondent, senior correspondent, correspondent, assistant correspondent.

Professional titles for scientific research personnel working with archives and museums: Researcher, research associate, research assistant, research intern.

Professional titles for foreign language translation cadres: Chief translator, associate translator, translator, assistant translator.

Professional titles for professional cadres in charge of books, documents and materials: Research institute personnel, associate research institute personnel, institute personnel, assistant institute personnel, administrative personnel.

Technical titles for athletic coaches: National level coach, senior coach, first-class coach, second-class coach, third-class coach.

Professional titles for announcers: Special announcer, senior announcer, first-class announcer, second-class announcer, third-class announcer.

47. Why must we implement exchange of major leading party and government cadres at and above county levels?

Answer: The implementation of exchanging at regular intervals major leading party and government cadres at and above county levels is an important content in the reform of the cadre system.

Practice in life has proved that, although it is beneficial for the major leading cadres to work for a long time at a fixed locality or department since their familiarity with local situations makes it convenient to launch

work in light of reality, yet, there are also disadvantages. For instance:

- 1) They will easily develop a patriarchal style and practice "what I say counts," thereby weakening collective leadership.
- 2) They will easily hang on to their old experiences and old rules and regulations, will not have a broad field of vision and foresight, will feel satisfied with the existing state of affairs, stand still and refuse to make progress, will develop complacency and will lack sensitivity toward new situations and new events.
- 3) Sectarianism and small-group mentality will easily occur, the relationship between comrades will be replaced by human relationship or petticoat influence, public matters will be confused with private matters, and evil tendencies will be fostered.

Practical experience has told us that there are many advantages to implementing exchange of leading cadres at regular intervals. It is favorable to implementing the party's democratic centralism and to strengthening the collective leadership of the leading groups. It is favorable to accumulating and exchanging experiences in a broad manner in all areas, thereby assisting cadres in investigating and studying new situations and new problems, broadening their field of vision, increasing knowledge, enriching experiences and raising the level of leadership. It is favorable to enabling cadres to become modest and cautious, change their style of work, penetrate into reality, establish ties with the masses, overcome bureaucratism and raise efficiency in work. It is favorable to freeing the cadres from the bonds of human relationship and petticoat influence and freeing the cadres from the interference of sectarian moods and factionalism, so that they can correctly implement the party's cadre policy and other policies.

The scope and target of exchange were once clearly stated in the "Decision of the Central Authorities on the Exchange in a Planned Manner and Step by Step of Major Party and Government Leading Cadres at Various Levels," which was passed at the Tenth Plenary Session of the 8th party Central Committee in 1962. The scope of exchange is mainly the party cadres assuming major leadership responsibilities of party committees and state organs at and above county levels. Specifically, they are: Primary and secondary leading cadres of departments (committees) and offices (bureaus) of organs of the central authorities; secretaries, deputy secretaries, standing committee members and department heads of provincial, municipal and autonomous regional party committees, provincial governors (municipal mayors and chairmen), vice governors of provinces (deputy mayors and vice chairmen of municipalities), and heads of offices or bureaus, secretaries, deputy secretaries and commissioners (municipal mayors and heads of autonomous zhous) of prefectural (municipal, autonomous zhou) party committees; secretaries of county party committees and heads of counties; and secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of party organizations of major people's organizations at and above provincial level. Leading cadres outside the party, leading cadres with specialized, professional and technological skills and cadres who do not assume the above-mentioned major leading functions are not included in the scope of exchange. The spirit of this decision is still suitable today and should be implemented.

The work of exchanging cadres must be carried out in a planned manner, step by step and by stages and in groups. We must not have an excessive number

of people on each occasion of exchange. All the cadres listed in the scope of exchange should be exchanged once every 5 to 10 years. The major leading cadres of organs of the central authorities and organs of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions will carry out exchange within the scope of the country. While most of the major leading cadres of organs of prefectures (municipalities and autonomous zhous) will carry out exchange within the scope of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, some will carry out exchange within the scope of the country. The major leading cadres of county-level organs will carry out exchange within the scope of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Cadres of minority nationalities will generally carry out exchange inside the regions of their own nationalities.

The exchange of cadres should be beneficial to work. We should pay attention to giving play to the strong points of the cadres and make appropriate arrangements in light of the needs of practical work. We should, through the exchange of cadres, consolidate and strengthen those localities and departments where the leadership is relatively weak.

In the exchange of cadres, we must act in accordance with the limits of authority in cadre management and report to the party committees in charge for approval in matters involving the dismissal of cadres from their original posts or the appointment of cadres to new posts.

48. Can we circulate professional and technological cadres?

Answer: To meet the needs of the new situation and new tasks, tap the potentials of skilled personnel and make rational use of skilled personnel, we can carry out directional circulation of professional and technological cadres under leadership and in an organized manner.

It is not only necessary but also possible to implement directional circulation under leadership and in an organized manner. Since the nation's founding, in the practice of revolution and construction, our party has trained and prepared large numbers of professional and technological cadres. However, because the economic development was unbalanced, the system of management of cadres was less than perfect in certain respects, and the cadre structure was less than rational, there was lack of harmony in the distribution of professional and technological cadres between the heavy industrial sector and the light industrial sector, between the enterprises under the system of ownership by all people and the enterprises under the system of collective ownership, between large cities and small cities, between the coast and the hinterland, between the urban and rural areas, and among various sectors, trades and undertakings. With the continuous development of the four modernizations, with the continuous deepening of the readjustment of the national economy and technological transformation, the irrational state of this cadre structure and distribution has become more prominent. On the one hand, the great task of building a powerful modern country urgently requires large numbers of cadres who persevere on the socialist road and who possess professional knowledge thereby resulting in a sharp contradiction of "demand over supply" of skilled personnel. On the other hand, the

phenomenon of waste and idling of skilled personnel exists in some departments and units. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, the cadre and personnel departments have done a great deal of work in readjusting the irrational distribution and use of cadres and in organizing the circulation of skilled personnel. However, the problem of the inability to apply what one learns and to apply what one is strong in has not been fully resolved. In some departments and units where there is a relatively high concentration of skilled personnel, there is excess of overstaffing of professional and technological cadres. This is unfavorable to both the four modernizations and the growth to maturity of the cadres.

Practice has proved that there are many advantages to implementing directional circulation of professional and technological cadres under leadership and in an organized manner: First, it is favorable to shattering the "system of ownership of department" and "system of ownership by unit" in the management of skilled personnel, to gradually changing the irrational state of the cadre structure and distribution, and to perfecting the system of management of cadres. Second, it is favorable to tapping skilled personnel in a broad manner, to resolving the problem of the inability to apply what one learns and apply what one is strong in, and to attaining the goal of making the best possible use of men and their talents. Third, it is favorable to exchanging skilled personnel among the various localities, sectors, trades and undertakings, and to promoting the development of the national economy and technological transformation. Fourth, it is favorable to further implementing the party's policy on intellectuals and to bringing into full play the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses of intellectual cadres.

The circulation of professional and technological cadres must proceed from the needs of work and must correspond to the readjustment and restructuring of the national economy. In light of our country's present situation, the direction of circulation should primarily be from the heavy industrial system to the light industrial system, from the enterprises under the system of ownership by all people to the enterprises under the system of collective ownership, from the large cities to the small cities, from the coast to the hinterland, and from the urban areas to the rural areas. We must strengthen leadership, unify planning and carry out the work through the organizational and personnel departments, in order to avoid a state of blindness and anarchy. Between one region and another and between one sector and another, coordination can be carried out through formal procedures and in a planned manner, and must be carried out after approval by the departments in charge.

49. Are we allowed to advertise for professional and technological cadres?

Answer: Advertising for professional and technical cadres is an experiment in the reform of the cadre system. In light of the practical experience in some localities, the trial-implementation of this method is favorable to rationally readjusting and using professional and technological cadres and bringing into play more properly the role of professional and technological cadres. Thus, as a form of vitalizing the management of cadres, hiring through advertising not only is allowed, but should be actively supported. We must conscientiously sum up experiences and continuously perfect this work in the process of trial-implementation.

Advertising for professional and technological cadres should be carried out in an organized and a planned manner through the organizational and personnel departments. The advertising unit can put up a notice, enter an advertisement, or, through the organization, hook up with the unit where the personnel to be hired are. While advertising for cadres, we must persevere in the requirements for cadres and carry out the necessary political examinations and professional assessments, follow the normal procedures of hiring and transferring cadres, and submit for approval by the departments in charge. If we advertise for in-service personnel, we should handle matters after consulting with the unit from which the personnel will be hired and after obtaining the unit's consent.

The scope of advertising for professional and technological cadres should generally be within the same city or the same locality. The border areas and medium-sized and small towns can also advertise for personnel in the coastal areas and large and medium-sized cities. If the enterprise or professional units of large and medium-sized cities need professional and technological cadres in any field, they should ask for allocation from the departments in charge and should not advertise on their own in the subordinating units or in medium-sized and small cities.

50. How should we test and understand our cadres in an overall and correct manner?

Answer: Testing and understanding cadres in an overall and correct manner is the basis for correctly selecting and promoting cadres and for rationally allocating and using cadres. The party committees and organizational and personnel departments at various levels must emphasize the work of testing and understanding cadres as the focus of the work of cadres, know and understand cadres in a better manner and truly attain the goal of knowing the people well enough to assign them jobs commensurate with their abilities.

How then can we test and understand cadres in an overall and correct manner?

First, we must look at cadres within the viewpoint of historical materialism. In judging and appraising cadres, we must persevere in the criterion of having both political integrity and ability, test their historical and actual performances in an overall manner, look at their past performance as well as their actual performance, and look also at their future development. But we should emphasize their actual performance. We should look at the cadres strong points as well as weaknesses, and look at their essentials as well as the nonessentials and distinguish one from the other. We must have a basic view of cadres, and must not vacillate under the influence of onesided representations. We must conduct specific analysis on specific problems, must look at the cadres with the view of development and change, and must avoid looking at people with the viewpoint of metaphysics.

Second, we must maintain the style of fairness and honesty, be bold in persevering in principle and reflect a situation as it is. We must not be prejudiced and look for materials with all kinds of restrictions. Regardless of other people's views and representations, we must clarify facts and

use facts as our basis, must not determine good or bad based on individual subjective impression, and more so must not cater to the leadership, distort facts and cover up the truth. We must persevere in the party character and principle, must not proceed from individual likes and dislikes or personal feelings, and more so must not bring in any factional or sectarian sentiments.

Third, we must fully follow the mass line. Cadres, after all, work and live to a definite extent among the masses. The masses are very clear about their political quality, work ability and ideological style. Thus, in testing cadres, we must not only listen to the introduction by the leadership of the unit to which the cadres belong, but must also listen carefully to the reflection and opinions of the masses. If the two views differ, then we should pay attention to listening to the different opinions and, on the basis of conscientiously seeking truth from facts, formulate a fair judgement. We must not listen and believe one party or the opinions of one individual. We must not only understand the higher level organization and organization at the same level where the target of testing works, but must also inspect the organization of the level below the target of testing as well as the masses, listen carefully to the opinions from all parties and avoid believing readily in the statements of one party.

Fourth, we must use all kinds of methods and approaches to test the situation of the cadres in various respects. We must not only inspect "dead" materials and read these documents back and forth, but must also know the "live" situations well, which means to understand their vivid performance in practical work and all activities.

Fifth, we must carry out testing and understanding regularly the performance of cadres is continually changing. We should know well the situation of their development and change. We must not judge a person for life based on one testing, and must not simply take the old situations of the past as the basis. We should carry out testing and understanding regularly and master new situations accordingly. Only in this way can we know well and understand our cadres in an overall manner and enable the work of testing and understanding cadres to meet the needs of the development and change of cadres.

51. What should we do when we encounter difference of opinions in testing and promoting cadres?

Answer: A cadre's performance is multifaceted and is constantly changing. Sometimes, there may even be false impressions. People's understanding of the criteria for cadres may be profound or shallow and may be right or wrong, and their understanding of the situation of the cadres may be sufficient or lacking and may be all-round or onesided. Also, people adopt different angles and methods of observing problems. Thus, it is inevitable that there are different views, even totally different opinions, of certain cadres. In real life, the differences in the views toward certain cadres are oftentimes the result of incomplete understanding of the actual performance of the cadres on the part of some comrades, who know one thing and not another, and who take the onesided view as the overall view; or, who possess the erroneous

thinking and method of looking at a single act and a single point in time and not at the entire history and the consistent performance of a person, and of looking at cadres with a static and isolated view and ignoring the development and changes of the cadres; or, who proceed from personal likes and dislikes or personal feelings, and who harbor factional or sectarian sentiments.

Therefore, what should we do when we encounter differences of opinion? First of all, we must analyze the reason behind the differences of opinion. If it is a lack of overall understanding of the cadres' situation or the lack of facts and basis for the views toward cadres, then, we should carry out meticulous testing and understanding through all kinds of methods, carefully listen to all kinds of opinions, clarify the situation, establish facts accurately and keep informed in an all-round manner the actual performance of the cadres. Then, introduce organizationally the situation of the cadres as it is with appropriate explanations, so as to clarify what is right and what is wrong and unify understanding. If there are few discrepancies in the facts but differences in views, then we should carry out discussions fully, use the criteria for using personnel in the new period as the yardstick and the actual performance of the cadres as the basis, and carry out analysis and assessment on the cadres in a down-to-earth manner. If we are still unable to unify our understanding after discussion, and if the matter is urgent, then decision will be made on the principle of subordination of minority to majority. If the matter is not urgent, then we must not draw conclusions hastily, and should continue to hold discussion at a later date. But we must not drag it on for too long. If the differences are the result of personal likes and dislikes or personal feelings, and of factional and sectarian sentiments, then we should launch criticism, get rid of interferences, persevere in principle, speak up for justice, and pass fair judgment on the cadres, distinguish their achievements from errors and appropriately promote or demote them. If the organizational and personnel departments have totally different opinions internally in the testing and understanding of certain cadres, and if they indeed have difficulty unifying their understanding, then they should report the facts involving the actual situation of the cadre and the different opinions about him to the party committee, and let the party committee make a decision on the basis of investigations and understanding in depth.

Chapter 5: The Assignment, Employment and Dismissal of Cadres

52. How can a rational assignment and use of cadres be achieved?

Answer: The question whether a rational assignment and use of cadres can be achieved has a direct bearing on whether the cadres' positive role and their role as core elements can be fully brought into play. It also has a bearing on whether the party's political line, principles and policies can be fully implemented and whether the various undertakings and tasks can be effectively accomplished. If a rational assignment and use of cadres is to be achieved, the following questions must receive attention in the work of assigning cadres:

First, we must have a comprehensive, intimate knowledge and understanding of cadres. The intimate knowledge and understanding of cadres is the foundation for any rational assignment and use of cadres. Only if you know your men well, can you assign them jobs commensurate with their abilities. The inappropriate assignment of cadres is frequently due to a lack of intimate knowledge and understanding of the cadres. Before assigning and using cadres, it is therefore necessary, first of all, to examine them and gain an understanding of them as a regular practice and in a thorough manner. We must obtain a pretty good idea of all such points as a cadre's political expressions, the level of his ideological development, his professional abilities, his organizational and leadership abilities, his interests and aspirations, his special skills and his strong and weak points. This is the only way in which we can achieve a rational assignment and use of a cadre according to the specific conditions of his case.

Second, we must start out from the needs of the job, but at the same time give consideration to the personal interests, aspirations and to any special skills, and must organically integrate these two concerns. In assigning and employing cadres, we must start out from the needs of the party's undertakings, but at the same time, to the extent possible, give consideration to the personal interests, aspirations and special personal strong points. If we would merely stress the needs of the job, and completely ignore a person's interests, aspirations and special abilities, we would end up employing someone on a job for which he is not suited, and that would have an adverse effect of the cadre's zeal and creativity. Of course, the needs of the job stand in first place, and personal interest, aspirations and special abilities must be subordinated to the needs of the job; we must not abandon the interests and needs of the party and the people, while stressing personal inclinations.

However, it is not only reasonable, but a necessity, that under the premise of subordination to the needs of the job, we must to the largest extent take personal interests and aspirations into consideration.

Third, employment must be effected in accordance with aptitudes; strong points should be displayed and weaknesses avoided. Specific conditions differ from one cadre to the other, each will have his strong points and his weaknesses. When assigning and employing cadres, we must consider suitability according to the person in question, make use of his strong points and avoid his weaknesses. As far as possible cadres should be assigned to suitable posts, so that each will be in his proper place and each will perform to the best of his abilities and will be able to display his special talents and skills. If anyone is employed on a job for which he is not suited and for which he has no abilities, or even forced to do what he is not able to do, it will not only stifle abilities and waste human talent, but will also turn experts into uneducated laymen, affect the work adversely and dampen their enthusiasm.

53. Why must the employment, dismissal, transfer and any other arrangement concerning cadres be discussed and decided upon by the party committee collectively, and why is it not permitted that one man's word make the final decision?

Answer: According to our party's organizational principle of democratic centralism, every important question must be discussed and decided by the party committee collectively and must not be arbitrarily decided by one person. The employment, dismissal, transfer and other arrangements concerning cadres are important questions of party organization and must all be handled according to this principle. On the foundation of a complete observance of the mass line and of a pooling of all the correct opinions of the masses, and through party committee deliberations and discussions we must arrive at the decisions collectively and put these decisions into effect, after submitting a report to the party organization of the higher level for their approval, according to the competences in the cadre administration. Each member of the party committee--and this includes the party secretary--has only an equal voice and cannot force his opinion on the collective body, nor must any member place himself above the organization.

Upholding the principle of having the party committee collectively deliberate and decide matters can prevent and overcome the limitations of a single person's restricted knowledge about a candidate in connection with finding suitable employment for him. It will also prevent listening only to one side, or showing favoritism and personal discrimination. It will certainly help getting to know a person, placing people in suitable positions and employing none other than really good people. It is precisely as comrade Ye Jianying pointed out in his speech at the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee: "It is quite impossible for one individual to gain a perfect insight into everyone's character, to assign people with absolute accuracy to jobs commensurate with their abilities and to employ nothing but good people, because every individual has his limitations. These things are only possible in reliance on the party and on the sound system of democratic centralism of our party and state."

Upholding the principle of collective deliberations and decisions by the party committees is the only organizational system by which we can stop such loopholes as giving employment only to one's relatives or building up a private power base. It will prevent people from closely following in the footsteps of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their cronies who grow and thrive on rebellion, or of people with serious factionalist ideologies, or of elements who indulge in beatings, smashing and looting, or of people who oppose the political line adopted by the party since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee. It will also prevent people guilty of serious law and discipline violations from getting into leading groups at the various levels and will thus ensure the purity of our leading groups.

Upholding the principle of collective deliberations and decisions by the party committees is the only way to correctly implement the party's political line and policies concerning our cadres, policies that meet the demand that our cadres be more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent, policies that will also promote to leading positions only such cadres who have both ability and political integrity, who are in the prime years of their lives and who are able to initiate a new overall situation, and policies that effectively solve the problem of cooperation between old and young cadres and the problem of replacing the old with young cadres.

54. What is the difference between having individuals decide on the employment of cadres and individuals recommending cadres?

Answer: Having individuals decide on the employment of cadres is a nepotist type of phenomenon and would violate the organizational principles of the party. Our party's system of cadre administration provides that the employment and promotion of cadres must take place on the basis of examinations and a clear understanding on the part of organizational departments of the party committees or the personnel departments of the government, and that it must be effected in accordance with the party's cadre standards and cadre regulations. Employments must be deliberated and decided upon by the party committees collectively and must be reported to the party organization of the higher level for their examination and approval. It is definitely not permissible for individuals to employ or promote cadres. This is an important organizational principle which no one must violate or undermine. The purpose of cadre promotions is to provide successors who will continue the party's undertakings and who will lead the masses in efforts to achieve the four modernizations; the purpose is not at all to replace a certain individual in his leadership position or to inherit that leading person's unfinished work. How could such an important affair, which has a direct bearing on the future and fate of our party and state, be left to be decided solely by one individual! If we were to allow this, we would treat the undertakings of our party and state as the private undertakings of certain leaders, and turn the successors to the cause of our revolution into pure and simple successors of certain individual leaders. This is obviously incompatible with the character of our party and with our cadre policy and will never be allowed by the masses. Appointing and promoting cadres by individuals would easily lead to private interests being given first consideration, to the use of one's powers

of office to assign jobs to relatives and to the building up of personal power bases. This would not only run counter to the vital norms of the party, but would also easily open the door for certain persons who do not conform to cadre qualifications, even opportunist elements who are only out for personal gain, to infiltrate into our cadre contingent and into our leading groups. This would be extremely dangerous. It is therefore necessary, in order to correctly implement the party's cadre policy and to ensure the purity of our cadre contingent and leading groups, to prevent allowing individuals to decide on the employment or promotion of cadres and also necessary to close, by organizational means, all loopholes for possible nepotist employment practices.

Taking the interests of the party and the people as one's starting point, selecting and recommending worthy and capable people, actively recommending outstanding talents, who conform to conditions, for the consideration of the party organizations are acts that not only conform to our organizational principles, and that are permissible practices, but are responsibilities that every single party member, and particularly leading cadres, should do their best to discharge. Not to recommend persons whom you know to be suitable, being jealous of capable persons and envious of abilities and concealing talents, is detrimental to the undertakings of the party and the people. When recommending persons to the party organization, it must definitely be done with the public interest in mind and must certainly not be motivated by personal likes or dislikes, feelings of gratitude or resentment or by considerations of personal advantages or disadvantages, gains or losses. Any cadre who has been recommended by someone must certainly pass through a conscientious examination and clarification of all his details by the party organization; whether he can be appointed or promoted has to depend completely on the deliberation and decision of the party organization concerned. The selection and recommendation of one individual must never be regarded as a leadership decision, compelling the party organization and the personnel departments to take further procedural action. If that was done, it would really amount to turning individual recommendations of cadres into actual appointments by individuals; this would not be permissible. We must not take a personal recommendation for a personal decision and must also not take a personal decision for a personal recommendation. The demarcation line between the two must not be obscured.

55. What procedures for reporting and obtaining approval have to be complied with in case of appointment and dismissal of cadres?

Answer: For the correct assignment and employment of cadres, it is necessary to strictly act in accordance with a system of examinations and approvals of cadre appointments and dismissals and to conscientiously complete the procedures for reporting and obtaining approval.

Any request directed to a higher party committee for the appointment or dismissal of a cadre must be submitted to the higher party committee in a written request report, which must explain the intended duties of the newly appointed cadres or the duties from which he is being relieved, the specific reasons for the appointment or dismissal, as well as the disposition of the cadre

after his dismissal. Furthermore, a "Report Form for Cadre Appointment and Dismissal" has to be completed. In case of promotions or appointments of cadres, supporting documents and opinions by the masses must be attached to the report and the promotions and dismissals can become effective only after approval by the higher level party committee. If the cadre candidate was formerly not under the jurisdiction of the higher level party committee, his cadre records must also be submitted at the same time. In case the approval is requested for the appointment or dismissal of cadres in newly established organizations, copies of the documents approving the establishment of the new organizations must also be appended.

Where appointment of a cadre to a post with administrative functions is concerned, which requires reporting to the higher level government for approval, dismissal or approval, it is necessary that at the same time as a report with a request for instructions is submitted to the higher level party committee, a request for instructions be submitted to the higher level government authority in the name of the administrative organ. It is then necessary to await for the higher level party organization to examine and approve the case, and the organizational department of the higher level party organization shall advise the personnel department of the government to whom report had been submitted and according to rule request the higher level government to execute the appointment or dismissal. After a decision has been arrived at by the party committee concerned on the appointment or dismissal of a chief secretary, a provincial department head, bureau head or director of the people's government, a report is first to be submitted to the higher level party committee for examination and approval. And only after receipt of appointment or dismissal notification from the higher level party organization, shall administrative procedures for appointment or dismissal be completed, and the case shall then, in accordance with legal procedure, be submitted to the standing committee of the people's congress at the local level for decision, which will have to be reported to the higher level government for approval.

In the case of appointment or dismissal of secretaries, deputy secretaries or members of the standing committees of the party's Discipline Inspection Commissions at all levels, the local party committee must first obtain the consent of the higher level discipline inspection commission and then submit the case to the higher level party committee for examination and approval. In the case of the appointment or dismissal of a chief prosecutor or law court president, it is also necessary to first obtain consent from the party organization at the higher level department concerned, before the case is submitted to the higher level party committee for examination and approval.

When the higher level party organization has decided on the appointment or dismissal of a cadre, it shall have to complete all procedures of appointment or dismissal and notify its subordinate organization, which need not take any further procedural action of reporting or approving.

In case approval is sought from the higher level party organization for the assumption of new duties by a certain cadre, if his original duties were within the jurisdiction of the higher level party organization and if he will

not continue in that position concurrently, a request must also be submitted to the higher level party organization to relieve him of that position. If the original position was within the jurisdiction of the higher level party committee and the new position is not within the jurisdiction of the higher level party organization and the cadre will not continue to attend to the original duties, he can be appointed to the new position only after dismissal from his original position by the higher level party committee. When the abolition of an organization is approved, the positions of its cadres are of course abolished without the need for completion of dismissal and approval procedures, but the cases have to be reported to the higher level party organization for their records.

Cadres who have problems in their political past or who have received disciplinary punishment and for whom the conclusions of an examination of their past or the decision imposing their punishment have not yet been transmitted to the higher level party committee, will have to have these documents sent to the higher level party committee together with the "Report Form for Cadre Appointment and Dismissal," according to the division of labor in the cadre administration.

56. What is the administrative control over leading cadres in enterprises and industrial units under dual leadership? What procedures have to be followed in appointments and dismissals?

Answer: There are two conditions in the cases of administrative control over leading cadres in enterprises and industrial units under dual leadership and also concerning the procedure to be followed for appointments and dismissals:

(1) In enterprises and industrial units where operations are under the dual leadership of the department concerned and the local party committee, but with priority given to the department concerned, cadres under the administrative control of the higher level party committee are to be administratively controlled by the higher level party committee, with joint assistance from the party organization at the department concerned and the local party committee, and responsibility for the necessary procedures of submitting appointments and dismissals for approvals to the higher level party committee shall rest with the party organization at the department concerned. Apart from cadres under the control of the higher level party committee, some of those cadres who perform important party and administrative leadership duties shall, after mutual consultations between the party organization at the department concerned and the local party committee, be listed on the duty roster administered by the party organization at the department concerned, and this organization shall have administrative control over them. However, they should also be listed on the duty roster controlled by the local party committee and be under the supervision and control of the local party committee. All other cadres shall be administratively controlled by the party committees in their units themselves. For all cadres listed as under dual control, both the party organization at the department in charge as well as the local party committee shall be responsible for checking, evaluating, nurturing and educating them. As to the appointment and dismissals, transfers, examination, checking, evaluating, rewards and penalties as well as

special professional training of cadres, the main responsibility shall rest with the party organization at the department in charge, while the local party committee may exercise supervision. As to all party work, such as convening party delegate meetings, the organizational life of the party, studies in political theory, political ideological work, cadre appraisal, training of cadres in rotation, etc., the local party committee shall bear main responsibility and the party organization at the responsible department shall render assistance. The division of labor between the party organization at the responsible department and the local party committee in the appointment and dismissal of leading cadres of the party committees in all these units shall be as follows: such procedures as the calling of meetings of party committees elected in party representative assemblies, the checking of the lists of proposed representatives and candidates for the posts of secretaries and deputy secretaries and the submission of election results and obtaining their approval, as well as transmissions to lower levels, are a responsibility of the local party committees, after having reached unanimity with the party organization at the responsible departments in prior consultations. For the appointment, dismissal and transfer of leading cadres of the party committee during times when the party representatives assembly is not in session, the party organization at the responsible department shall be in charge, after having reached unanimity with the local party committee in prior consultations.

(2) In enterprises and industrial units where operations are under dual leadership, with priority given to the leadership of the local party committee, the administrative control of cadres under the control of the higher level party committee shall be exercised by the higher level party committee with the joint assistance from the local party committee and the party organization at the responsible department, and responsibility for the procedures of reporting to the higher level party committee and obtaining approval for the appointment and dismissal of cadres shall rest with the local party committee. All other cadres shall, according to the duties they perform, be under the administrative control of the local party committees at the different levels, or be controlled by the party committees at all these units themselves. The responsible department of the higher level may also conduct examinations and ascertain a full understanding with regard to a certain sector of cadres outside the administrative control of the higher level party committee and may also present recommendations to the local party committee as to their appointment, dismissal and transfer. Prior to the appointment, dismissal or transfer or principal leading cadres of the party or the administration in these units, the local party committee must first solicit the opinion of the higher level department concerned.

57. What appointment and dismissal procedures must be carried out in the case of cadres engendered through elections?

Answer: Any cadres engendered through elections who are under the administrative control of the higher level party organization, must have had lists of candidates submitted to the higher level party organization prior to the elections and, furthermore, have completed the "Report Form for Cadre Appointments and Dismissals," according to the rules governing the system of appointments and dismissals. The election results, if they concern

party positions, must be submitted to the higher party organization for approval, and if they concern administrative positions, to the higher party organization for their record. If someone was elected who was not a candidate, the procedure of reporting and obtaining approval must be made up for him.

If cadres originally engendered by election are again elected, they are of course relieved of their original positions without the need for any further dismissal procedure.

When submitting reports on the secretary positions in party committees to the higher level party committees, the reports should clearly list the secretaries and deputy secretaries in proper order (listing them in the order of priority).

58. Can the higher level authority transfer or designate cadres that have to be engendered by elections? What are the required procedures?

Answer: When the party representatives assembly, the people's congress or the staff and workers representatives assembly are not in session, the higher party organization, if considering it necessary, can transfer or designate cadres that should be engendered through elections.

In case of such transfer or designation of cadres that should have been engendered by election, the party organization in charge shall, in accordance with the rules governing the competences in cadre administration, directly complete appointment and dismissal procedures and notify its subordinate organizations, which need not carry out further reporting or approval procedures. If the cadre was transferred or designated to assume an administrative position, it is necessary, after the decision of the higher party organization, to comply with appointment or dismissal procedures prescribed by relevant laws or regulations.

59. What points must we pay attention to when recruiting and employing new cadres?

Answer: In order to meet the needs of the socialist modernization program and for the well-planned replacement and replenishment of cadres, ensuring the quality of our cadres and building up a contingent of cadres that is more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent, we must gradually reform our system of choosing persons for employment and use a variety of methods to fully tap our potential of talents and employ talents in a rational way. We must pay attention to the following points when recruiting and employing new cadres:

(1) When government organs, enterprises and industrial units replenish their complement of cadres within authorized numbers to meet the needs of their operations or production, the local personnel departments or competent authorities shall first of all transfer persons from among the cadres available in the local departments, or from cadres who transferred from military to civilian work that are available under the national unified placements, or assign graduates from universities and colleges. If the need cannot be filled

in this way, persons may be recruited from among the workers or employed from the general public; applications may also be invited from the general public. Cadres that belong to the category that has to be elected, must be engendered in democratic elections according to the relevant regulations.

(2) Cadres of state organs, enterprises and industrial units, who are elected in democratic elections and have not been cadres before their election, shall be treated as cadres during their tenure of office and may be reelected and reappointed consecutively. At the end of their term of office, they shall return to their original posts at their original salaries.

(3) When government organs, enterprises or industrial units employ cadres from among the general public to fill the needs of their work, they shall sign employment contracts and issue letters of employment. All relevant matters, such as salary, shall be handled according to the contract. In case of contract violations, the employment can be terminated immediately. At the end of the contract term, a new contract may be concluded or the employment may be terminated.

(4) If any government organ, enterprise or industrial unit is in need of recruiting and employing additional cadres, it must submit in advance a plan concerning the additional cadres needed to the higher level personnel department in charge. After examination, the personnel department shall transmit the plan to its higher authority, and the Ministry of Labor and Personnel shall present a collective plan, which shall be submitted to the State Council for approval; the quotas for cadre increases are then to be transmitted to lower levels. Units that have been notified by their higher level personnel departments of their additional cadre quotas (including quotas for needed replenishment of depletions due to natural causes) may recruit and employ up to their authorized complement.

(5) When recruiting and employing cadres, all state organs, enterprises and industrial units may do so from among workers in units owned by the whole people and in units owned by collectives, or they may employ persons from the general public. Candidates from the general public shall mainly be school graduates in the cities and technical specialists not presently employed, or persons who have gained professional qualifications through self-study. If special circumstances make it necessary to employ cadres from rural areas, approval has to be obtained from the provincial, municipal or autonomous region people's governments.

(6) Persons who are recruited for employment as cadres must fulfil the following conditions:

(a) They must uphold the four basic principles and support the party's political line, principles and policies.

(b) They must be upright and honest in their ways, observant of discipline, law-abiding and obedient in following party assignments.

(c) They must have the educational level of graduates from senior middle or higher ranking schools or of equivalent schooling (requirements may be

appropriately relaxed in the case of minority races and border region residents), or must have the required specialized technical knowledge or professional abilities.

(d) They must be healthy and generally around 25 years of age. Under special circumstances, different provisions may be stipulated by the employing unit according to the varying needs of the task.

(7) When cadres are recruited for employment in government organs, enterprises and industrial units, their local personnel department shall make overall arrangements, conduct public recruitment, allow voluntary application, conduct an overall evaluation as to character, ability and physical conditions, insist on examinations and select the best for employment.

Cadres employed in larger groups from among the general public must pass uniform examinations. The examination shall be arranged and the examination topics selected by the organ that will have to approve the employment or the personnel department of county or higher rank in joint consultations with the departments that will employ the cadres, who, furthermore, shall request the department concerned to assign a topic, supervise the examination and assess the examination papers. Employment shall be effected by selecting the best according to the grade curve. Successful candidates shall undergo a political and physical examination. Candidates who pass the general examination as well as the political and physical examinations shall complete a "Form for the Examination and Approval of Recruitment and Employment of Cadres." This form, together with the examination papers, health certificate and the candidate's records, also any material submitted by the candidate himself, shall be sent in to the examining and approving organ, which, after approval, shall issue an employment notification.

When employing technical specialists not presently employed and persons who have gained professional qualifications through self-study, reference is to be made to the above-stated relevant procedures and, in the light of different conditions for different types of people, examinations, evaluation topics and methods have to be determined; those passing the examination (evaluation) as well as the political and physical examinations shall be employed on receipt of approval from the organ in charge of approvals.

When recruiting cadres from among the workers, reference is to be made to the above-stated procedures and an overall evaluation and required general knowledge and professional proficiency examination is to be insisted upon. Those who pass, shall only be employed after formal approval.

Those who are accepted for employment as cadres shall undergo training for a certain time according to the necessity of the cases in question.

(8) The recruitment and employment of cadres by county (municipal) organs, enterprises and industrial units shall be examined by the personnel department of the county (municipality) and submitted to the personnel department of the prefecture (zhou, municipality) for approval.

The recruitment and employment of cadres by organs of prefectural (zhou, municipality) rank, enterprises and industrial units shall be examined by the responsible department of the prefecture (zhou, municipality) and approved by the personnel department of the prefecture (zhou, municipality).

The recruitment and employment of cadres by the various departments of a province, municipality of autonomous region, and their enterprises and industrial units, shall be examined by the various departments and submitted to the personnel department of the province, municipality or autonomous region for approval.

The recruitment and employment of cadres in Beijing by the various departments of the State Council and its enterprises and industrial units at Beijing shall be examined by the personnel departments of the employing units and approved by the various ministries, commissions and directly subordinated organs. Employment of cadres outside of Beijing shall be examined by the various ministries, commissions and their directly subordinated organs and approved by the Ministry of Labor and Personnel.

The recruitment and employment of cadres outside of Beijing by organs, enterprises and industrial units directly subordinated to the State Council shall be approved by the personnel departments of the local prefectures (zhou, municipalities) or higher ranking authorities; recruitments from a unit's own workers must be approved by the higher level responsible department (prefecture, municipality).

(9) Cadres that have been chosen for employment shall in general serve a probationary period, which shall last 1 year (excluding their period of training); in the case of persons of real ability and learning, the organ that is authorized to approve, may exempt such persons from serving a probationary period. During the probationary period, the employing unit shall afford the cadres intensive ideological education and professional guidance and, furthermore, conscientiously check their ideological quality, political expressions and physical condition.

At the end of the probationary period, those found up to cadre standards shall be approved by the authority, who had originally approved their employment, to become regular cadres. Those who require further examination, shall, with the approval of the responsible department, have their probationary period extended, but for no longer than half a year. If they still do not measure up to cadre standards at the end of the extended probationary period, they shall be dismissed on approval by the organ which had originally approved their employment.

(10) Personnel employed from among the general public shall receive a temporarily fixed salary, their regular salary grade to be fixed at the end of the probationary period. Graduates from senior middle schools or those with equivalent schooling records who are employed on administrative work shall generally be ranked administrative grade 25 of state organ grading. Those who can be promoted in their jobs after 1 year can be ranked administrative grade 24. Those employed on other work may have their grades determined in

the light of the above-stated grade levels and in accordance with the salaries of presently employed categories of personnel. Those of a higher level of education than senior middle school may be ranked higher than the above-stated levels of grades. A small number of persons who will be employed with less than senior middle school education may be ranked lower than the above-stated grading levels. A few persons of special ability in their technical professions may have their grades determined according to the level of their professional technical level.

For cadres who have been recruited from among the workers, wages and treatment shall remain unchanged during their probationary period. At the end of the probationary period, those whose wages are lower than administrative grade 25, shall have them fixed at that grade. Temporarily no change shall be made in wages that are higher than administrative grade 25. After 1 year, wages that are lower than administrative grade 24 shall be fixed at grade 24, and those that are higher than administrative grade 24 shall temporarily remain unchanged.

(11) In the recruitment and employment of cadres we strictly oppose "going by the back door" and any other unhealthy tendencies; "internal recruitment" is prohibited, and it is strictly forbidden to practice favoritism and to engage in fraudulent practices. Persons who have been employed after engaging in fraudulent practices or who are not up to the standards demanded in cadres shall be dismissed. Persons who use the power of their office to practice fraud, who try to gain selfish advantages for their children, relatives or friends or rebuff and suppress talents shall be subjected to close investigation as to their responsibility and severely dealt with.

60. What kind of cadres must be removed from office? Is removal from office to be considered a punishment?

Answer: Applying a system of removals from office is a measure employed to reform our cadre system, to foster democracy within the party and foster people's democracy and to strengthen supervision over our cadres. It is beneficial to the strengthening of the mass viewpoint and sense of revolutionary responsibility in our cadres. It is beneficial to encouraging progress and urging on those who lag behind. It is beneficial to a change in the state of having "only upward, never any downward movements."

If anyone among the cadres who have been engendered by election becomes unequal to the tasks of his present job, or has committed errors and must not be left in his leading position, but not to an extent that he must be punished with dismissal from office, a removal from office may be effected. Removal from office is not a punishment.

The removal from office of cadres elected by any representative assembly must be passed by a majority of the representatives of the assembly at the level in question. When the assembly is not in session, the removal must be passed by a majority of the members of the committee at the level in question. The removal of cadres of the category that is employed and dismissed by the standing committee of a representative assembly must be passed by a majority

of the standing committee at the level in question. The resolution to remove a cadre from his position must be submitted for approval to the department in charge according to the competencies in cadre administration. In removing cadres from their posts, the principle of seeking truth from facts must be firmly upheld, investigations must be conducted conscientiously, all facts must be checked out and the defense and opinions of the cadre himself must be heard. The matter must not be dealt with in a casual, harsh or perfunctory manner.

61. Can leading cadres resign? What are the procedures for resignation?

Answer: The leading cadres at all levels whether elected in democratic elections or appointed by leading organs, may voluntarily resign. In case of resignation, the leading cadre concerned must personally submit a request for resignation, stating the reasons for his resignation and submit it for approval to the department in charge according to the competencies in cadre administration. If the position from which resignation is requested is one engendered by election, the case must be deliberated and passed by the representative assembly at the level concerned; if the assembly is not in session, the case must be deliberated and passed by the committee at the level in question and submitted to the department in charge for approval.

62. How are resignations of cadres to be handled?

Answer: Cases of cadres who resign because they have lost their working ability, but do not yet qualify for retirement, must be handled, and responsibly dealt with, according to the appropriate arrangements provided in the 1978 "Provisional Regulations of the State Council Concerning Arrangements for Old, Weak, Sick and Disabled Cadres." They shall be paid a monthly retirement living allowance and enjoy the treatment, politically and in their livelihood, to which they are entitled according to regulations. Cases of cadres who request resignation on their own accord without having lost their working ability are to be dealt with in different ways according to the different conditions of their cases.

If a cadre experiences domestic difficulties because his family lives in the countryside and voluntarily requests permission to resign, his request, with the consent of the leadership of his unit, must be submitted to the department in charge for approval; on its approval, resignation procedures may be completed. He shall be paid a one-time resignation allowance and the travelling expenses for his return to his village. The resignation allowance may be fixed according to his years of service at the rate of 1 month's standard salary for every year of service, but not to exceed 12 months. Cadres whose home is in the cities and who wish to resign on their own accord, would have to submit a written request, which, after obtaining the consent of his unit leadership, shall be submitted to the department in charge for approval; on its approval, resignation procedures may be completed. Those whose resignation has been thus approved will not be issued a resignation allowance, nor paid travelling expenses to other places.

63. What are the arrangements for cadres who fail in elections, and how can they be used?

Answer: With the gradually widening sphere of cadre elections and the adoption of plurality election methods, some cadres are bound to fail in the elections, and this, generally speaking, is a normal phenomenon. The following are more or less the conditions of cadres who failed in elections: (1) not elected because among the good ones, only the excellent were chosen, and vacant positions were limited; (2) not elected, although the candidate had in the past displayed good qualities, but the electorate had not become fully acquainted with his circumstances; (3) not elected because candidate was incapable of coping with his present job; (4) not elected because there was much opposition against the candidate from the masses due to his many shortcomings and mistakes. We must therefore analyse the specific conditions why a candidate was not elected and can by no means assume that every cadre who failed in an election is not a good one. Rational arrangements for the use of such cadres must be made according to the needs of the work to be done and the specific conditions in the person of the candidate.

A candidate who had made a good impression, but has failed in the election, be it due to the limited number of vacancies or be it that his conditions were unknown to the electorate, may be placed in a job corresponding to his original post.

Cadres who have failed because of incompetence, but who appear intellectually promising may be sent for further studies, training and improvement, at the end of which they may again be placed according to their conditions at that time. Those who seem to show no promise of development, may be placed in work which is commensurate with their abilities or may be sent back to posts in production.

Cadres who have failed in the election because of much objection from the masses in view of their many shortcomings and mistakes, may be placed in appropriate jobs, considering the nature of their past mistakes and the degree of their conscious correction of their mistakes. However, in general they are assigned work which is of a lower level than their original duties.

64. What arrangements must be made in the case of truly incompetent leading cadres?

Answer: Speaking of incompetence here refers mainly to the incompetence of leading cadres in their present positions due to deficiencies in political integrity or abilities.

In the case of incompetent leading cadres, we must make necessary rational adjustments and transfer them to work at other suitable posts. Doing this will be beneficial to the work of the party and to the progress of the persons in question.

There are many different types of incompetent leading cadres. In carrying out adjustments in their cases, we must start out from the requirements of our four modernizations and from our concern and care for these cadres. Based on the needs of the work to be done, we must apply concrete analyses, suit the persons concerned, have each find his proper place and have each exert

himself to the utmost of his abilities and, furthermore, create conditions that will help them make continuous progress. Some may be relieved of their present positions and placed elsewhere in jobs for which they are competent. Those not suited for work in high-level leading organs may be placed in positions of basic work. Those not capable for this kind of work, may be placed to do that kind of work. Those of low capabilities and skills, but intellectually promising, may be sent for professional training. Some could be returned to their original posts in production or work posts.

The adjustment and placement of incompetent leading cadres requires deep-going and painstaking ideological political work. The major responsible comrades in the party committees must seek personal discussions with these comrades one by one, listen to their opinions and sincerely point out the direction in which they must exert themselves. Any reasonable requests made by them must be conscientiously taken into consideration and appropriately dealt with. If certain things are temporarily impossible or certain demands are not reasonable, this must be patiently explained to them. Against those who will not accept their new placement, who behave unreasonably troublesome and will not change their mistaken attitude even after patient criticism and education, appropriate action will have to be taken.

65. How are cadres to be dealt with if they do not obey the party organization's dispositions?

Answer: In the readjustment of cadre work, the vast majority of our comrades will be able to comply with the needs of our party and follow the dispositions of the party organizations. However, certain cadres still have that attitude of only wanting to enjoy the party organization's care, but disdaining organizational discipline and disobeying the party organization's dispositions. They will find all kinds of pretexts to haggle with the party organization and if they don't achieve their objectives, they will not check in and not come to work. These are reflections of liberalism and individualism showing up in the question of cadre readjustments. This tendency is on the one hand destroying the discipline of our party organization, undermining the work-style of our party, disintegrating our cadre contingent, and on the other hand obstructing the readjustment of our leading groups and the work of redeploying our cadres. These trends must be resolutely reversed.

As to cadres who disobey the dispositions of the party organization, we must first of all strengthen their ideological education in party consciousness and in wholehearted service to the people, and strengthen their education in organizational discipline and in our excellent traditions. We must have them understand that all the cadres of our party, whatever their qualifications and record of service, whatever their merits and the level of their positions, whatever place, unit, or responsibilities they are assigned to, must all be subject to the decisions of the party organization in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, basing on the needs of the party's undertakings and considering the personal conditions of the cadres themselves. The individual must unconditionally obey the decisions of the party organization. This is the constant rule of our party and the guarantee for our party to be able to promptly assign cadres to perform all

kinds of tasks according to the needs of whatever situation may develop. Without strict discipline in the disposition of our cadres, our party would lack any fighting strength and would be unable to lead the people toward victory in the revolution and in construction. Every cadre must base all thoughts about his assignment and the arrangement of his personal work on the principal consideration that the interests of the party are above everything else. He must not divorce himself from the interests and needs of the party and the people, nor persist in attaching primary importance to his individual opinions. If anyone believes that the readjustment of his work is inappropriate, he may put forward his opinions, but he must obey the ultimate decision of the party organization.

Toward cadres who will not obey the dispositions of the party organization, we must firmly uphold our principles and insist on strict discipline. For cadres who have been transferred to other jobs, the time for their reporting for duty must be clearly fixed. Anyone who does not report for duty in time without approval from the party organization and without legitimate reasons, shall have to suffer disciplinary sanctions or have his pay withheld, depending on the severity of the condition of the case. Anyone not coming to work for half a year will have his pay stopped, and anyone not coming to work for 1 year, will be dealt with as having voluntarily given up his job. If the disposition by the party organization has been appropriate, but the individual is stubbornly refusing to obey, his original appointment may be rescinded and he may be assigned to other work below that of the original job. We must have the courage to smash the fetters of conventional relations, steadfastly uphold the principle that the party controls its cadres, resist interceding for cadres who disobey the party's dispositions and above all oppose the various unhealthy tendencies of obstructing the departments in charge in their implementation of the collective resolutions of the party committees.

Before deciding on the work assignment of the cadre, the party organization must of course carefully listen to the individual person in question and accept his reasonable opinions, paying particular attention, and giving consideration to the person's particular strongpoints. Real difficulties must be reflected as they really are and assistance must be given to solve them. As far as possible, adjustments must be appropriate, assignments rational and must be such that will be easily accepted by the individual in question.

66. What principles must be followed when transferring cadres out of consideration for husband and wife having to live in different places?

Answer: The problem of the cadre and his wife having to live in different places must be solved on the basis of the needs of the work to be done and on available alternatives. On the one hand we must gradually solve the real difficulty of having husband and wife live separately in two different places, and on the other hand we want to appropriately control the population, the total number of staff and workers and the consumption of commodity grain in the cities. Differentiating between different conditions and between different degrees of hardship and urgency, we want to achieve a solution, adopting a variety of measures in a truly responsible way and step by step in a planned way.

When transferring cadres out of consideration of husband and wife having to live in different places, in cases where both are working, the problem must be solved through transfers by the party organization on the basis of the principle that, in general, residence in the big city will have to yield to residence in a medium- and small-sized city, residence in the interior will have to yield to residence in the border regions, and residence in regions of first and second lines of occupation will have to yield to residence in regions of third line occupations. Between large-sized cities, between medium-sized cities and between counties (towns), spouses living separated may be mutually transferred. A decision whether to transfer someone into or out of a certain place must be arrived at after specific consultations, basing on the requirements of the work to be done, the actual domestic conditions and other such factors. If one of the separately living cadres belongs to first ranking organs of the central authorities and the other to a unit in Beijing, the one in Beijing should, as a general rule, be transferred to the place where the other lives and should be placed for work nearby; it is also possible, if the needs of the work permit, to transfer the two separately living persons to a unit of their employing agency at a third place. If the needs of the work or other special difficulties make it truly impossible to transfer the one working in Beijing out of Beijing and it becomes necessary to transfer the party living outside of Beijing into Beijing, a report must be submitted to the Ministry of Labor and Personnel who shall examine and approve the case, based on the principle of first allowing movements out before allowing movements into Beijing, in order to establish a balance between parties moving in and those moving out of Beijing in these arrangements to bring couples together. Cadres transferred into Beijing should in principle be placed for work by their units themselves. Strict control should be exercised over transfers from border regions to the interior, from regions of third line occupations to first and second line regions, from small-sized cities to large- and medium-sized cities and from all places to the cities of Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai.

In case one party is a cadre and the other a city resident (entitled to commodity grain), the cadre may be transferred to the city where his family lives and his family may also be allowed to move to the city where the cadre works, depending on the needs of the work and the specific conditions, but it is also necessary to follow the principle that residence in the big city must yield to residence in the medium- and small-sized cities, the interior yield to the border region and regions of first and second line occupations to residence in regions of third line occupations.

In arrangements to solve the problem of cadre couples being separated, preferential consideration must be given to engineers, doctors, agronomists, lecturers, assistant research fellows and higher ranking personnel, also to key personnel in literature and art, journalism, foreign language translation and other lines equal to or higher in rank than the above-stated job titles and also to cadres who have made special contributions.

Whenever cadres conform to the above-stated principles, the local party committees and organizations of county, municipal and higher level of personnel departments of the people's governments may directly establish the necessary

contacts and proceed with transfer procedures. However, in cases of transfers into the three municipalities of Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai and cities under the direct jurisdiction of provinces, the municipal party organizations and personnel departments will have to be contacted and arrangements made with them.

Chapter 6: Work Related to Veteran Cadres

67. What does veteran cadres mean?

Answer; Our party is a large party with a long history of struggle. Since its establishment in 1921, our party has had a glorious career of over 60 years of struggle. In the course of its history, our party nurtured and brought up one generation after another of excellent cadres who administered the party, the country and our armed forces, and it is they who constitute our present contingent of cadres in which there are men of the old, middle-aged and young generation.

Who then are the veteran cadres in our party's cadre contingent? The meaning of the word veteran cadres differs for different periods of history. Veteran cadres, as we presently use the term, generally refers to cadres who, before the establishment of the PRC, participated in the revolution during the four phases of the new-democratic revolution, namely during the Great Revolution, the Agrarian Revolutionary War, the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation.

Large numbers of our party's veteran cadres made contributions of the greatest significance for the party and the people during each phase of our revolutionary history. During the decade of turmoil, the great majority of our old comrades firmly upheld the principles and standpoint of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and engaged in various forms of struggle against the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. In recent years, guided by the political line of the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, they did a large amount of work in efforts to bring order out of chaos and to advance all undertakings of the socialist modernization. These old comrades have accumulated an abundance of struggle experiences in undergoing repeated tempering and in long periods of trials, thus becoming valuable assets of our party and country and deserving love, esteem and respect from our entire party and all our people.

68. What is the range of duties of departments charged with work on behalf of our old cadres?

Answer: The main duties of departments charged with work on behalf of our old cadres are the following:

(1) Investigating in a planned and systematic manner the conditions of the veteran cadres to gain a thorough understanding of these conditions, compiling lists of veteran cadres within the limits of one's own jurisdiction and according to the four historical stages of the new-democratic revolution, in particular, gaining a thorough understanding and grasp of the condition of veteran cadres who participated in the revolution during the periods of the Great Revolution in China and of the Agrarian Revolutionary War, to facilitate effective work on behalf of the veteran cadres.

(2) Gaining a thorough understanding of the conditions of veteran cadres who have moved back to second and third lines of work, their placement and changes in their conditions, putting forward suggestions as to the placement of certain veteran cadres, providing the necessary conditions that would allow the veteran cadres to work as much as they are able to work and paying attention to having them play as active a role as possible.

(3) Checking the extent to which principles and policies concerning work on behalf of the veteran cadres are being implemented, and to implement and give effect to relevant regulations governing the political treatment and governing the provision of an adequate livelihood for the veteran cadres after their retirement.

(4) Obtaining regularly information on the political and livelihood conditions of the retired veteran cadres, organizing among them studies of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, studies of the party's political line, principles and policies, reading of documents, listening to reports and having them participate in the life of the party organization; strengthening political ideological work among the veteran cadres, having them consciously cherish their own glorious history, extol the revolutionary traditions and maintain their revolutionary integrity in their later years.

(5) Obtaining regularly information about, and showing solicitude for the material and cultural life of the retired cadres as well as for their health, assisting the department concerned in earnest efforts to solve problems of transportation, medical attention, housing, etc., and have someone visit them on New Year's Day and other festivals.

(6) In cooperation with the departments concerned, making all necessary arrangement after the death of a veteran cadre, also educating and caring for his dependents.

(7) Study the problem of preserving and handling writings and memorabilia left by certain veteran cadres.

(8) Study and formulate regulations for the administration of veteran cadres and a system of relevant rules.

69. What is the meaning of having leading cadres retire to the second and third line?

Answer: Speaking of retiring to the second line means for leading cadres to move away from the first line leading posts and to take up duties as

advisers or in similar capacities; these cadres are on the regular payroll and do not figure as having resigned or retired. Speaking of retiring to the third line means that the leading cadre does not further perform leading duties and has resigned or has been retired.

70. What are the duties and tasks of the Central Advisory Commission and of the provincial, municipal and autonomous region advisory commissions?

Answer: The Party Constitution provides that the Central Advisory Commission of the party be the assistant and adviser in political matters to the party Central Committee and will work under the leadership of the Central Committee. The Central Advisory Commission submits suggestions as to the formulation and execution of the party's principles and policies, and is available for consultations. It assists the Central Committee in investigating and dealing with certain important questions; it propagates within and outside the party the important principles and policies of the party and assumes any other duties entrusted to it by the Central Committee. The members of the Central Advisory Commission may attend the plenary sessions of the Central Committee as nonvoting members. Its deputy chairman may attend the plenary sessions of the Politburo as a non-voting member. Whenever the Politburo considers it necessary, the members of the standing committee of the Central Advisory Commission may also attend meetings of the plenary session of the Politburo as non-voting members.

The provincial, municipal and autonomous region advisory commissions of the party are the assistants and advisers on political matters to the party committees of corresponding levels. The said commissions work under the leadership of the party committees of corresponding levels with duties and tasks as those of the Central Advisory Commission. The members of the provincial, municipal and autonomous region advisory commissions may attend the meetings of the plenary sessions of the party committees of corresponding levels. The chairman and deputy chairman of the said commissions may attend the meetings of the standing committee of the party committees at corresponding levels.

71. What are the qualifications for membership in the party's Central Advisory Commission and the provincial, municipal and autonomous region advisory commissions? How are members, standing committee members, chairmen and deputy chairmen engendered?

Answer: The Party Constitution stipulates that members of the Central Advisory Commission must be party members of at least 40 years' standing, must have made substantial contributions to the party, must have had abundant experience in leadership work and must enjoy great prestige inside and outside the party. The members of the Central Advisory Commission are elected by the CPC National Congress. The said commission's standing committee, its chairman and deputy chairman are elected by the plenum of the Central Advisory Commission and are to be reported to the Central Committee for approval. The chairman of the Central Advisory Commission must be selected from among the members of the standing committee of the Politburo.

The qualifications for membership in the party's provincial, municipal and autonomous region advisory commissions are to be regulated by the party committees of corresponding levels with reference to the qualifications established for the members of the Central Advisory Commission and according to the actual conditions of the places in question. The provincial, municipal and autonomous region advisory commissions are elected by the provincial, municipal and autonomous region party congresses. The members of the standing committee, the chairmen and deputy chairmen of the provincial, municipal and autonomous region advisory commissions are to be elected by the plenums of the said commissions, to be passed by the party committees at corresponding levels and to be submitted to the Central Committee for approval.

72. How are we to understand that cadres who are precluded from continuing in their positions because of the stipulations on age and health conditions in the Party Constitution, must, according to state regulations, either resign their positions or be retired? What are the procedures in case of resignations and retirements?

Answer: This particular provision in the Party Constitution is a further improvement and development in the retirement system of our cadres; it is an important measure to abolish the system of lifetime leadership positions that actually existed.

According to the laws of nature, man will finally age and decline; at an advanced age, he will weaken physically and mentally and hardly be able to bear the complex and heavy load of leadership work. To effectively solve the question of cooperation between young and old cadres and the replacement of the old by the young, to maintain continuity in the party's political line, principles and policies, to ensure the normal progress and healthy development of the political life of the party and the state, cadres who reach the age and condition of health where they are no longer fit to continue to work in their positions must therefore resign or retire, so as to allow comrades in the prime of their lives to take over and shoulder the complex and heavy duties of the four modernizations. This is a necessity to provide successors to pursue our undertakings and have these undertakings grow and flourish, as it is also necessary out of concern and loving care for our old cadres, allowing them to enjoy good health and an old age. We must realize that it is a display of responsibility toward the party and the people and an honorable act to take one's leave or retire when one has physically weakened due to age, when one's ability falls short of one's wishes and one is no more fit for work.

The State Council has stipulated as age for resignation retirement [li xiu]: for heads of department and their deputies in the central government and state organs, first secretaries, secretaries, deputy secretaries of provincial, municipal and autonomous region party committees, provincial governors, mayors, chairmen, deputy governors, deputy mayors, deputy chairmen of the provincial, municipal and autonomous region people's governments and cadres serving in commensurate positions, 65 years for those in primary posts and 60 years for those in deputy or assistant posts. For bureau chiefs in the central government and state organs, deputy bureau chiefs, department

heads and their deputies in the provincial, municipal and autonomous region party committees, department heads and their deputies in the provincial, municipal and autonomous region people's governments, secretaries and deputy secretaries of prefectural party committees, commissioners and deputy commissioners of administrative offices and cadres serving in commensurate positions, 60 years; for other cadres, 60 years in case of men and 55 years in case of women. Before reaching the age for resignation and retirement, the party organization may approve resignation or retirement ahead of time in special cases when physical disability prevents normal performance of duties. In special cases where the resignation and retirement age has been reached, the party organization may approve delaying temporarily a person's resignation or retirement and allow him to continue in his leadership duties, if there is a genuine need on the job and the physical condition of the person in question is such that he can sustain normal work.

If a veteran cadre requests retirement and the case is within the jurisdiction of a unit of prefectural or higher rank, the local unit must, according to the competences in cadre administration, submit the request to the organ in charge of appointments and dismissals for their approval. If the case is within the jurisdiction of a unit of county or lower rank, the case is to be submitted to the organ of county or higher rank for examination and approval and must also be reported to the prefectural or higher responsible department for their record. The retirement of a cadre must be reported by the local unit, according to the competencies in cadre administration, to the organ in charge of appointments and dismissals for their approval.

The resignation or retirement of a cadre need not be applied for by the cadre personally; whenever a cadre reaches the prescribed age limit, retirement procedures may be instituted according to regulations. At the time of instituting retirement procedures, patient and effective ideological work must be carried out and the matter must not be treated casually.

After his resignation [li xiu] procedures have been completed, a cadre may be presented with a "Veteran Cadre Honorable Retirement Diploma" by the provincial, municipal or autonomous region people's government or a department of the central government or a state organ; it could also be presented, according to the circumstances of the case, by an administrative office or a county government of first rank.

Cases of cadres who want to retire but are not within the range of those who may resign may be dealt with according to the relevant regulations of the State Council.

73. Who are those veteran cadres who participated in the revolutionary war led by the CPC before the establishment of our state, had been released from production, received treatment according to a system of payment in kind and had engaged in underground revolutionary work?

Answer: Article 1 of "Some State Council Regulations on the System of Retirement and Care for Veteran Cadres" stipulates: "For old cadres who participated in the revolutionary war led by the CPC before the establishment

of our state, who had been released from production, received treatment according to a system of payment in kind and had engaged in underground revolutionary work, a system of resignation retirement [lizhi xiuyang 7180 5120 0128 7402] shall be instituted for the time when they reach resignation retirement age." These veteran cadres are: Comrades who before 30 September 1949 had joined the revolutionary army led by the CPC;

Comrades who had participated in revolutionary work in our liberated areas, had been released from production and received treatment according to a system of payment in kind;

Comrades who had engaged in underground revolutionary work in the enemy-occupied areas.

The term "released from production and received treatment according to a system of payment in kind" refers mainly to: (1) Enjoy food services according to regulations from small-, medium- or large-sized facilities; having clothing, bedding and other items of daily necessity all provided by the state; receiving a minimal ordinary allowance. (2) Carrying out a system of partly receiving supplies and partly receiving wages (meaning partly in kind partly in cash), which may be considered a system of payment in kind. (3) Those who have received both treatments, payment in kind and payment of a cash wage, before the establishment of our state should benefit from a system of payment in kind. (4) Comrades who had joined revolutionary work before the end of 1948 and had received payment according to a cash wage system, may also benefit from the resignation retirement treatment.

The term "those having engaged in underground revolutionary work in enemy-occupied areas" refers to comrades who on the decision of our party and accepting it as an assignment from our party, mainly engaged in underground revolutionary work in territory controlled by the KMT, the Japanese or their puppets, while passing themselves off openly as of common social status but all along persisting in revolutionary work. If anyone did not join the party or the youth corps, mainly pursued a social occupation and had only engaged in some revolutionary activities, such as transmitting messages for our underground party, pasting up slogans, participating in anti-imperialist and anti-Jiang demonstrations, we have to admit that he contributed to the revolution, but we cannot consider him as having been engaged in underground revolutionary work, and he can therefore not enjoy the resignation retirement treatment.

Moreover, the cadres who, according to the stipulation in article 3 of the "Some State Council Regulations on the System of Retirement and Care for Veteran Cadres," "participated in revolutionary work between 1 January 1943 and 2 September 1945" do not include cadres who had formerly served in Japanese or puppet units and had joined revolutionary work between 15 August and 2 September after our army had taken over control. This group of cadres are not to enjoy the resignation retirement treatment of the cadres who had participated in revolutionary work during the War of Resistance Against Japan, but may enjoy the retirement treatment for cadres who had participated in revolutionary work during the War of Liberation.

74. How will the resigned [li xiu] cadres be placed and administered?

Answer: Arrangement for cadres who are resigning shall in general be made locally, but they may also be placed in their native place or the place of residence of their spouses. Resigned cadres should be encouraged to settle in villages or small- and medium-sized towns. In case of settlement in another province, the two provinces must consult each other earnestly to do their best to find a place for the settlement of the cadre in question. Strict control must be exercised when settlement in Beijing, Tianjin or Shanghai is demanded. Cadres in the interior of our country, working in Qinghai, Xizang and other such highlands, who on retirement request to return and settle in the interior, should have their settlement arranged by the relevant province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the central government. All expenses for the move shall be dealt with according to the relevant regulations of the State Council.

Administration of resigned cadres, if they settle locally, shall be the responsibility of the unit of their original employment, and for those who move to another place, the party organization, the personnel and civil affairs departments, respectively, at the place of destination. We must care for the resigned cadres, in political respects and with regard to their livelihood. We must conscientiously help them in any such problems as reading documents, listening to reports, taking part in the life of the party organization, etc. We must give them preferential consideration in medical services, housing, transportation, supply of daily necessities, etc. We must encourage the resigned cadres and organize them to do whatever work they can do and actively provide them with all necessary prerequisites.

Arrangements for the settlement of resigned cadres is extremely painstaking work. The leading comrades and comrades in the departments concerned with cadre work must make it a point to have personal discussions with the retiring cadre, clearly setting forth the principles and having them accept with ease of mind all the arrangements made for them by the party organization. Placement of each one and good care for each one must under no circumstances be done in an irresponsible attitude and the matter must not be treated casually.

75. How can we have the resigned and retired cadres play a useful role?

Answer: Through the extended tempering in revolutionary work, the resigned and retired cadres have an abundance of experiences and are familiar with the excellent traditions and workstyle of the party. Having them continue playing a positive role would be of major and far-reaching significance for the construction of our country's socialist material and spiritual civilization, would also help our young cadres and set an example for them, would also help educate especially our youngsters. It is therefore an important task for party organizations at all levels and for the departments in charge of work on behalf of the veteran cadres to use all kinds of appropriate methods to organize the retired cadres to do whatever work they can do and have them play a positive role.

The Central Committee of the party hopes that the resigned and retired cadres will continue to show an active interest in the cause of our party, will feel concern for the fate of our state and our people and will, within the limits of their strength, make positive contributions for the party and the people. There have been positive responses from many cadres to the call of the party; after their retirement, they will continue to fervently support the motherland's construction of its material and spiritual civilization and will forever continue, as far as health conditions will permit, to make contributions for the benefit of our party and people. We must encourage and support this revolutionary enthusiasm on their part and must actively organize them to do whatever work they are capable of doing.

First, we must employ methods that are appropriate for the conditions of the retired cadres, attuned to the persons and the time involved, and organize them to participate in certain social activities. For instance, we may invite them to lecture on party affairs and revolutionary history, teach our party members and the masses revolutionary traditions, serve as special lecturers in certain high, middle and elementary schools, and serve as assistant instructors. Those with special professional or technical abilities, may be invited to serve as specially appointed research fellows. We may organize them to visit factories, villages, schools, neighborhood enterprises, stores and other basic units for certain investigations and research to help the grassroots organizations initiate social welfare work and do certain work among the masses.

Second, we may organize the veteran cadres, depending on their specific conditions, to engage in literary activities. Veteran cadres who know much about the history of our revolutionary struggle and who have literary ability must be encouraged to do some writing that would be beneficial for our people and our youths. Veteran cadres with abundant work experiences should be made to summarize the positive and negative experiences in their units and in their lives, all this to furnish material on the history of our party, of our revolution and of their specific occupations.

Third, the party committees and government departments at all levels may, whenever there is a need, entrust certain retired comrades with the performance of certain temporary duties, as for instance, the investigation of a special problem that needs to be solved, express sympathy and solicitude to the people of the old revolutionary bases, serve on an honorary basis as commodity price inspectors, receive visitors, handle certain types of cases of discipline violations, participate in the work of service and administration of the veteran cadres, and so forth.

Fourth, we should call periodical discussion meetings of retired old cadres or meetings of their representatives, and introduce them to the working conditions at the local unit, solicit their opinions, request their suggestions and have them serve as advisers.

To facilitate work projects of the retired cadres, the party organizations and relevant departments at all levels should create favorable conditions and provide facilities, to enable them to play a positive role as well as

to be beneficial for the physical and mental well-being of the veteran cadres. Party newspapers and magazines should regularly and realistically spread news of incidents of retired cadres as they continue to make contributions for the benefit of the party and the people. Those of outstanding merit should be awarded commendations by the party organization.

76. What is meant by "the basic political treatment of the resigned cadres shall not change"?

Answer: It is stipulated in the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Establishment of a Retirement System for Veteran Cadres" that the basic political treatment of veteran cadres shall not change after their retirement.

The term "basic political treatment shall not change" mainly refers to the fact that with regard to perusal of documents, listening to reports, attending meetings, participating in political activities, their treatment will be the same as when they were in office. Full-time secretaries and personal cars had been provided for the need of their work and are not part of political treatment.

According to these provisions, the relevant party organizations and departments, apart from subscribing for them to the required newspapers and magazines and providing other necessary materials, should promptly organize transmission to them, or the perusal by them, of all important documents and important publications of the Central Committee, the State Council and the party organizations and governments at all levels. Furthermore, if necessary and as far as it is possible to do so, the resigned cadres should be invited to listen to important reports, to attend important meetings and participate in important political activities of relevance. They should thus be promptly apprised of the domestic and international situation, be familiarized with the various principles and policies of the party and the state and the setup of all their work, and should be made to feel concern for the various undertakings of the party. All necessary prerequisites should be provided to have the resigned cadres continue to play a positive role.

77. What does it mean that the resigned cadres shall be given preferential treatment in general terms as far as their livelihood is concerned?

Answer: It is stipulated in the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Establishment of a Retirement System for Veteran Cadres" that the veteran cadres, after their retirement, shall be given preferential treatment in general terms as far as their livelihood is concerned.

The term "shall be given preferential treatment in general terms as far as their livelihood is concerned" mainly means that in respect of pay, housing, medical treatment, transportation, provision of daily necessities, etc., apart from enjoying all reasonable treatment that they enjoyed before, they shall be given appropriate considerations.

Preferential considerations with regard to their livelihood shall first of all become evident in their pay. It is clearly stipulated in the "Some State

Council Regulations on the Resignation Retirement System for Veteran Cadres" that after retirement, veteran cadres shall continue to receive the same pay as before their retirement. Those who had participated in revolutionary work before 2 September 1945 and whose pay is below administrative grade 8, or an equivalent of a grade lower than the grade 8 (excluding the grade 8) shall, according to the different circumstances of the cases, receive annually an additional 1, 1 1/2 or 2 months of their original standard pay as a living allowance.

According to the spirit of the Central Committee's directives that wish to ensure best placement and care for the resigned veteran cadres, those who participated in revolutionary work before the establishment of the PRC and did not serve in grade 14 or higher rank of bureaus (prefectural commissioner offices), shall after their retirement generally enjoy the political and livelihood treatment of bureau (prefectural commissioner) rank. Those veteran cadres who participated in revolutionary work before the establishment of the PRC and did not serve in grade 18 or higher ranks in departments (counties) shall generally enjoy the political and livelihood treatment of department (county) rank. As regards housing, under equal conditions with those still in office, preferential consideration shall be given to the resigned cadres.

Preferential consideration shall be given in outpatient medical care, hospital accommodation and during convalescence. Those wishing to be transferred to nearby hospitals for medical treatment shall be accommodated as far as possible. The hospitals concerned must provide facilities for the medical treatment of the resigned cadres.

Transportation must be definitely assured for resigned cadres to go for medical treatment or to places of study.

As to the provision of daily necessities, appropriate considerations shall be shown to them beyond ensuring supplies at the standards that applied to them when they were on active duty.

78. If retired cadres move to another location and are changed to resignation retirement, who is to pay the various costs?

Answer: Every already retired cadre who fulfills the conditions of becoming resignation retirement status as prescribed in the regulations of the State Council, must be changed to that status. If retired cadres, who have moved to another place and have changed to resignation retirement status, had their retirement money before changing to that status paid by their original work unit, they should have all expenses after the status change also paid by their original work unit. If retirement money in the past had already been paid by the place of his new location, the party organization, personnel and civil affairs departments at the new location should include the expenses in their budgets and make payments.

79. How are the times determined for participation of cadres in revolutionary work before the establishment of the PRC?

Answer: The "time of participating in revolutionary work" by cadres before the establishment of the PRC refers to the time truly engaged in underground revolutionary work under the leadership of the CPC, having been released from production and fully being engaged in revolutionary work or having been appointed by our party organization and taken on assignments of the party, openly pretending to be of common social status but actually engaging in underground revolutionary work. Those who mainly worked in agriculture or in factories or were students, or mainly engaged in other occupations while at the same time also doing some revolutionary work or also participating in certain revolutionary movements, we must admit, have indeed contributed to the revolution, but we must not count their time as having been fully spent on revolutionary work. The time that cadres spent in revolutionary work before the establishment of the PRC can be determined according to the following rules:

(1) For cadres who have served in our party or government organs, organs of mass organizations or public enterprises and industrial units in the base areas or in the liberated areas, the time of their participation in revolutionary work shall be calculated as from the time they were released from production to engage full-time in revolutionary work. For office workers in government organs and workers in public enterprises and industrial units who have received payment-in-kind treatment and were promoted to cadres, the time for their participation in revolutionary work shall be calculated as from the day they started as office workers or workers.

(2) The time for participation in revolutionary work for those who joined the CPC or the Chinese Communist Youth Corps shall be counted as from the day of their joining the party or the youth corps. The time of participation in revolutionary work for those who joined the CPC during the War of Resistance Against Japan and during the War of Liberation in areas under the control of the KMT, the Japanese or their puppets shall be counted as from the day of their joining the party. The time of participation in revolutionary work for those who joined the CPC in our base areas and liberated areas during the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation, who were released from production and all along firmly persisted in revolutionary work, shall also be counted as from the day they joined the CPC. If any of the above mentioned persons left the party (youth corps) or was expelled from the party (youth corps), but later rejoined the party (youth corps), the calculation in their cases shall start with the day they were readmitted into the party (youth corps) or the day they again participated in revolutionary work, excepting cases for which the party organization has already reached certain conclusions on the question of their time of participating in revolutionary work.

(3) For persons who had been designated by our party organization and accepted certain assignments from the party, had openly pretended to be of common social status while mainly engaging in underground revolutionary work and who had all along firmly persisted in revolutionary work, the time of participation in revolutionary work shall be counted as from the time they accepted the party's assignment and engaged full-time in underground revolutionary work. Participation in only certain revolutionary movements, such as

transmitting messages for our underground party, posting slogans and participation in anti-imperialist and anti-Jiang demonstrations, while in the main engaged in a social occupation, must not be counted as full-time participation in revolutionary work.

(4) The time for participation in revolutionary work for township (village) heads, copy clerks, public security commissioners, finance and grain commissioners, and military commissioners (militia leaders) in any township or commensurate village of township rank in our base areas and liberated areas, who, before the establishment of the PRC, were directly promoted to cadre and released from production, shall be counted from the day the person in question accepted these duties with part-release from production.

(5) The time of participation in revolutionary work for regular teachers in the public schools of the base areas and liberated areas who have all along obeyed all redirections by the people's government, shall be counted from the day they started as teachers in the public school.

(6) For persons who were originally not employed by us, who studied at a military school, cadre school, at cadre training classes set up by our party, and at courses in the nature of short term training classes mainly teaching political theory and policy, held at universities and public schools, operated by our party to absorb cadres, and who after their studies were immediately sent out to work, the time for participation in revolutionary work shall be counted as from the day they entered the said schools. For persons who were originally not employed by us, who studied at revolutionary universities set up after liberation of their localities, at institutions of higher learning taken over and restored by us, at resist-Japan middle schools, united middle schools, teacher colleges, polytechnical schools and other kinds of middle schools, at middle schools attached to cadre schools and at preparatory classes, and who after their studies were immediately sent out to work, the time of their participation in revolutionary work shall be counted as from the day they were sent out to work. For personnel in our active employment whom the party organization had sent to various schools to study and who resumed their duties after completion of their studies, no change shall be made as to the original time of their joining revolutionary work.

(7) As to the time of participation in revolutionary work in the case of enemy personnel who had surrendered, those who immediately after surrender participated in revolutionary work shall have the date of their surrender counted as the start of their participation in revolutionary work. For those who were first provided with money and sent home, their participation shall count from the day when they returned for revolutionary work.

(8) In the case of personnel of the old regime who were kept on, the date of their starting to work as cadres under the people's government shall be the start of their participation in revolutionary work.

(9) In case of arymen who have transferred out of the army, the time of their participation in revolutionary work shall start with the day they joined the army. For demobilized soldiers, ex-servicemen and laid-off staff

who returned to revolutionary work, if the interim period did not exceed 3 years and the original period of their service is longer than the interim period, calculation of time of participation in revolutionary work may start with the day of their first participation, otherwise from the second time of their participation. If the interim period was more than 3 years, the calculation should start in general from the second date.

(10) For persons who had become separated from the revolutionary contingents for such reasons as having been wounded, fallen sick, or because their units had moved away, their organization become disintegrated, who during their separation had actively searched for our party organization to work for our party of their own accord, and who returned to revolutionary work when their area was liberated, the time of their participation in revolutionary work shall be counted from the day they first participated in revolutionary work. For those who did not actively search for our party organization but did nothing in word or deed to harm our revolution and who returned to revolutionary work within 3 years, the time of their participation in revolutionary work shall also be counted from the first date of their participating in revolutionary work; otherwise, from the second time they participated in revolutionary work. For those who of their own accord left their jobs or due to backward ideology left the revolutionary contingent but later rejoined revolutionary work, the date of their participation in revolutionary work shall be counted in general from the day they rejoined revolutionary work. For those who absconded under serious circumstances (taking arms or money along or absconding for fear of punishment) but who later returned to participate in revolutionary work, the time of their participation in revolutionary work shall in all cases be counted from the date they rejoined revolutionary work.

(11) For those who had been arrested or taken prisoner and who during the time of their incarceration or as prisoners did not do anything incorrect or committed only a minor incorrectness, but who on regaining their freedom immediately sought out our party organization and with full consciousness carried out revolutionary work, the date of their originally joining revolutionary work shall remain unchanged. For those who surrendered after having committed serious offences or engaged in traitorous acts but returned to participate in revolutionary work, the time of participation in revolutionary work shall be counted from the day they again returned to revolutionary work. However, if the party organization had already come to certain conclusions as to the time of their participation in revolutionary work, these dates should in general not be changed anymore.

(12) For those who have been discharged from public employment or sentenced for criminal offences, but later again rejoined revolutionary work, the time of their participation in revolutionary work shall be counted from the day that they rejoined revolutionary work. For those who have been sentenced for criminal offences of a light nature or whose sentences have been suspended or who were permitted to serve their sentences outside of jail and did not relinquish their posts, the calculation may start from the first time they participated in revolutionary work.

(13) Regarding certain local problems or questions of a special nature, the relevant organizational department of the provincial, municipal and autonomous region party committee or the relevant ministry or commission of the central government may, in the spirit of the above regulations, submit suggestions as to how to deal with the cases, which may be submitted to the central organizational department for approval and execution.

80. What are the procedures for changing a cadre's time of participation in revolutionary work?

Answer: The change of a cadre's "time of participation in revolutionary work" must be examined and deliberated by the party organization and personnel departments at the units of county or higher rank, and submitted to the party committee for approval. Cases of cadres under the provincial, municipal and autonomous region party committees concerning changes to before 6 July 1937 must be examined and decided upon by the party committees of the counties, municipalities and autonomous regions. All cases of cadres under the prefectural (municipal) party committee concerning changes to before 2 September 1945, must be examined and decided upon by the prefectural (municipal) party committee. Cases concerning cadres of the standing committees of provincial, municipal and autonomous region party committees, provincial vice governors and of bureau chief and higher ranking cadres in the various ministries, departments and commissions of the central authorities and state organs must be submitted to the Central Organization Department for examination and approval. Cases concerning other cadres of the central authorities may be entrusted to the provincial, municipal and autonomous region party committees and the party committees at the various ministries, departments and commissions of the central authorities and at the state organs to examine and decide, their decisions to be reported to the Central Organization Department for record.

When requesting a change in the "time of participating in revolutionary work," the cadre has to submit his reasons strictly according to fact as well as the names of witnesses to the party organization and abide by the decision of the party organization. The cadre must not make any changes by himself, nor without authorization exact evidentiary materials. Any evidentiary material produced by individuals must be true to fact, and must, furthermore, be certified by the party organization and the civil affairs departments in order to be valid.

Determining and changing the "time of participating in revolutionary work" of cadres is serious political work. In the face of claims put forward by cadres, we must guard against being cursory in our studies and perfunctory in dealing with these cases, and must also not allow ourselves to adopt an attitude of hasty rejection. We must also guard against dealing with these cases not according to regulations or in a manner of unprincipled pandering to the wishes of the individual in question.

81. How are we to determine the time of participation in revolutionary work and calculate years of service on the retirement or resignation of a cadre?

Answer: Cadres whose retirement and resignation has been dealt with according to Document [guo fa] No 104 (1978) and who have participated in revolutionary work before the establishment of the PRC, shall have their time of participating in revolutionary work determined according to the provisions of Document [zhong zu fa] No 11 (1982). Those who joined revolutionary work after the establishment of the PRC shall have their years of service determined according to the current state regulations pertaining to such cases. Years of service are calculated according to the grand total of full years, every full year to count as one year. As to regulations on the determination of years of participation in work, there are, apart from the provisional State Council regulations on the calculation of years of service at the time of retirement or resignation of working personnel in government organs, certain further regulations listed herebelow:

(1) The years of service of cadres who year after year have lived in mountainous regions or plateaus of 4,500 meters or higher elevation shall be calculated at 1 1/2 year for every full year of residence in those areas. In cases of cadres who year after year had to move about in these areas, each full year shall count as 1 year and 3 months toward their years of service.

(2) Staff and workers who had been laid off but were later rehired as cadres may have the periods they served before their layoff and the periods served after rehiring combined as total years of service; the time after layoff and before rehiring must not be counted toward their years of service.

(3) Teachers who changed from schools run by the local people to public schools shall have their years of service calculated from the last time the party organization had approved their employment in the school run by the local people.

(4) Cadres who for some reason had been arrested or discharged but in a later investigation and decision not sentenced, or had their dismissal rescinded and resumed work, shall have the time of arrest or the time they had been dismissed added to their years of service.

(5) Those who had been employed in party or government organs of townships of the first rank of commensurate organs, serving as township branch secretaries, township chiefs, copy clerks or commissioners of finance and grain or of public security may have the time of their full-time service calculated as their years of service. If nominally employed on a "half-release from production" basis, but actually having had to spend most of their time on such work, these periods of time may also be counted as years of service.

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Chapter 7: Cadre Examination Work

82. What is the basic mission of cadre examination work?

Answer: In November, 1953, the CPC Central Committee's "Decision on Examining Cadres" states: The aim of cadre examination is to understand comprehensively the cadre, mainly to examine them from a political standpoint to clarify the political appearance and eliminate all counterrevolutionary elements, alien class elements, and degenerate elements to uphold the purity of the cadre ranks; at the same time we should understand and become well acquainted with the ideological character and working ability of the cadres to facilitate training cadres in a planned way and using them correctly.

In the spirit of this decision and combining it with cadre work in the new period, the basic tasks of cadre examination work at present and in the next period are:

- (1) Examining antagonistic and various bad elements which have gotten into the cadre ranks;
- (2) Examining beating, smashing, and looting elements, persons with serious factional ideological problems, and rebels who were closely connected with Lin Biao and Jiang Qing clique during the "Cultural Revolution", and persons who oppose the line of the CPC Central Committee since the Third Plenum of the 11th party Central Committee and persons with various severe behavior contrary to law and order;
- (3) Investigating and dealing with cadres who have strong leanings towards bourgeois liberalization and those who are politically untrustworthy;
- (4) Clarifying the historical backgrounds, ideological style, moral character and work situation of cadres;
- (5) Continuing to deal with problems bequeathed by history, redressing and correcting wrong, trumped up and mistaken cases, and to establish a good party cadre policy.

83. What questions should be addressed in cadre examination work?

Answer: Cadre examination work is very important work of a very serious and policy nature. Upholding Party nature, seeking truth from facts, and doing things strictly according to party policy are the basic principles which should be followed in cadre examination work. The following questions should be noted in work:

(1) Cadre examination work is normal work for the organizational department of the party committee and movement techniques should not be required for conducting the examination.

(2) The contradictions of two different characters which should be strictly discriminated in cadre examination are questions of what character and they will not permit confusion.

(3) The conduct of a cadre examination should stress evidence, research, clarifying the facts, getting solid materials, avoiding sloppiness, subjective assertions, and prohibits "forced confessions". Methods which violate the Party Constitution and national laws are not permitted in dealing with cadres under examination.

(4) The verdicts of cadre examinations should be based on irrefutable and unmistakable materials as a criterion for party policy. The verdict and the handling should be appropriate and allow for unforeseen circumstances. The verdict may be in realistic terms but it should not assign political labels in general terms. The verdict should be decided through collective discussion by the party organization and to a certain extent the opinion of the masses should be sought and brought face to face with the person under examination. If the individual does not agree with the organization's verdict, he should be permitted to his opinion and has the right to appeal to higher level party committees; if the party organization holds to its original verdict, both the examination verdict and the views of the individual should be reported to higher level party committees for examination.

(5) All questions of violations of state laws should be handed over to the political departments for handling according to the law.

(6) Questions which have been left over in cadre work should be resolved responsibly and properly in line with the principles of seeking truth from facts and correcting any errors, comprehensive problems should be comprehensively corrected and partial problems should be partially corrected, problems which are not mistakes should not be corrected.

84. How should old historical cases from before the "Great Cultural Revolution" be treated and handled correctly?

Answer: Old historical cases from before the "Great Cultural Revolution" should be handled by distinguishing different circumstances. The correction of the mistaken designation of rightists, correction of mistaken cases in the struggle against rightist tendencies in 1959, and reexamination of mistaken cases in the "Four Clarifications" movement should be dealt with according to the relevant stipulations of the Central Committee. Other cases can be made part of the normal scope of reexamination in line with the principle of individual handling of individual problems.

After the liberation of the country, the political movements carried out by our party to consolidate the revolutionary victory and complete the socialist transformation were necessary. Although some of the cases that were handled in these movements or in daily work were incorrect or lopsided, the overwhelming majority were handled under the conditions of the times and according to the party policy stipulations of the times and were correct or basically correct. There are differences in principle here with the large number of unjust, trumped-up and mistaken cases which were created in the severe destruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the "Great Cultural Revolution". If we do not make an historical analysis of these old cases and conduct a general reexamination and handling using present policy as the criterion, it will bring about confusion between right and wrong, lead to unnecessary ideological chaos, have an impact on stability and unity and might alienate the broad cadres and masses inside and outside of the party. It is necessary to calculate and understand this point correctly.

As regards the handling of old historical cases and the problem of cadres demanding that the historical conclusions be changed, in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, party organizations should uphold the principle of "counterrevolutionaries must be suppressed whenever they are found and mistakes corrected whenever they are discovered", and carefully handle cases depending on different circumstances, completely correcting complete mistakes, partially correcting partial mistakes, and not correcting anything if there was no mistake. Errors committed which were handled definitively in a basically proper fashion on the basis of the party principles and stipulations of the time should not be reconsidered. If there has been no change in the primary factual evidence, errors committed which were handled definitively in a basically proper fashion on the basis of the party principles and stipulations of the time should not be reconsidered. If there has been no change in the primary factual evidence, errors committed which were handled definitively in a basically proper fashion on the basis of party policy and stipulations of the time should not be changed. Where the original primary factual evidence used in definitive handling is inconsistent or where there is no discrepancy in the primary factual evidence but definitive handling was incorrect, and which according to the stipulations of party policy at the time belonged to the category of mistaken expulsion from the party rolls, mistaken dismissal from employment, and mistaken designation as a contradiction between the enemy and us, should be reexamined and corrected. Those who were expelled from the party rolls but afterwards demonstrated that they were good and who meet the conditions for party membership should be restored to the party rolls. Except for individual work needs which the person can do, after the correction for being mistakenly dismissed from employment those persons generally will not get their jobs back, but resignation and retirement may be used to settle the matter suitably.

Cadre requests for a change in a historical conclusion should be reexamined and handled by their unit; for those who have already been transferred, responsibility for reexamination should be the responsibility of the original unit with the present unit cooperating. If the original unit has been eliminated, then it is the responsibility of the individual's present unit or the regional party committee above county level. After reexamination

and correction the conclusion will be approved by the party committee at the county level or above. Cases whose handling was approved by the Central Committee, the Central Supervisory Committee or the Central Organization Department will be heard by the provincial, municipal or autonomous region CPC Committee and reported to the Central Committee, Central Disciplinary Committee and Central Committee's Organization Department for approval. Cases originally approved for handling by the Central Bureau will be approved by the relevant provincial, municipal and autonomous region CPC committees.

When handling such questions, party organizations should certainly strengthen political and ideological work and not just go about their work. Everyone should be educated to take the general situation into account and look ahead. Questions in which the demands are reasonable and which can be resolved should be conscientiously resolved in an appropriate manner. Principles should be upheld and criticism and education carried out for unreasonable demands, or ones for which there are even no grounds for consideration.

85. How are the party records for a party member handled after the party member commits suicide?

Answer: The reasons why a party member commits suicide are very complex. A specific analysis and differential treatment should be carried out on the basis of actual circumstances and the party member should not just be eliminated from the party's rolls without exception. For example, some party members and cadres have great apprehensions when undergoing examination and do not understand party policy; some are criticized and denounced and cannot stand being aggrieved; during examination some have confessions obtained through compulsion and give them credence in violation of policy; some are afraid that their own errors or even crimes will be exposed; some undergo severe upset due to some bitter individual or family experience; some cannot bear the pain of illness; etc. For this reason, suicide cannot be viewed simply as behavior which betrays the party and the decision made for expulsion from the party rolls. However, those who commit suicide to escape punishment should be expelled from the party rolls. All those whose cases were not handled in conformity with the spirit discussed above, and whose dependents and relatives and friends now demand be corrected, or if the party organization feels that the handling was improper, should be reconsidered in seeking truth from facts.

Party members who were forced to commit suicide during the "Great Cultural Revolution" should not be dealt with as having betrayed the party by committing suicide, but may be described as having been persecuted to death or handled as a normal death.

If the person has serious questions and committed suicide to avoid punishment because he feared or resisted examination by the organization he should be expelled from the party rolls.

86. How are cadre work arrangements and economic compensation to be handled while implementing cadre policy?

Answer: The basic demands of redressing unjust, trumped-up, and mistaken cases during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and implementing cadre policy are: in the cases of those who have been examined but for whom no conclusion has yet been reached, a correct conclusion should be reached as quickly as possible; for those cases in which a conclusion has been reached but it is incorrect, it should be changed and all slander and libel should be repudiated; for those who can work but for whom no work has been assigned should be assigned appropriate work as quickly as possible; those who have been assigned work which is not appropriate should be reassigned; appropriate arrangements should be made for those who are old and weak and cannot work; for those comrades who died in the period of reexamination, a conclusion should be reached in a realistic and practical manner and post-rehabilitation work should be done; the questions of the innocent dependents, children, friends and relatives, and co-workers who were implicated and which should be resolved should be resolved appropriately.

The political and economic treatment of cadres who were mistakenly handled due to unjust, trumped-up, and mistaken cases during the "Great Cultural Revolution" should in principle be restored to the corresponding original treatment.

The question of arranging for employment should be based on work needs and on the moral and physical condition of cadres involved in implementing the policy. Some may be assigned positions equivalent to ones held originally, some may be assigned to positions higher than the original position and some may also be assigned to positions lower than the original position. It is not necessarily the case that all office-holders will be restored to their original positions. Some comrades feel that not restoring office-holders to their original positions means not implementing policy. This viewpoint is incorrect.

As concerns the question of economic compensation, all mistaken cases which antedated the "Great Cultural Revolution" should be resolved with the emphasis on politics, in principle property should not be completely removed and wages should not be uniformly paid retroactively; those for whom daily life is truly difficult may be granted appropriate subsidies. All unjust, trumped-up, and mistaken cases during the "Great Cultural Revolution", after rehabilitation politically, should be granted retroactive payment of wages deducted; all regions and departments which cannot grant retroactive payment due to financial difficulties should do a good job of ideological work and issue retroactive pay in installments.

87. What are the basic demands of giving cadres written examination conclusions?

Answer: When examining certain cadres, party organizations must conscientiously and responsibly provide the object of the examination with a practical and realistic conclusion. The basic demands of giving cadres written examination conclusions are:

(1) The conclusion should include the examinee's name, sex, age, ethnic group, native place, family origin, class status, party admission and time

of participating in work, work unit, positions inside and outside the party, brief history; the main facts of the examination, the organization's conclusion and views on handling. The entire conclusion should be clear in viewpoint, well paragraphed, and clear in logic.

(2) The examination conclusion should certainly be based on fact, factually clear, and have irrefutable proof. The time, place, and people involved when the question arose, and the course of events should be clearly stated. Materials handed over by the examinee and collateral evidence used must be verified and presented accurately and without exaggeration.

(3) The determinative nature should be accurate. A practical and realistic analysis should be made of the essence of the question to differentiate contradictions of two different natures. If it is a question between ourselves and the enemy, then it should be handled according to the policy of struggle with the enemy; if it is a question among the people, then it depends on whether its a question of understanding or of standpoint. The boundaries definitely should be clarified and the nature definitely should be identified. The analysis of the seriousness of the case should be practical and realistic, the wording should be appropriate, without overstating or understating, there should be no unfounded inferences and judgments, and no unlimited escalation.

(4) Handling should be appropriate and procedures complete. Appropriate handling certainly should be based on party policy: what should be punished should be and what should not be punished should not, emotion cannot substitute for party policy. Handling certainly should allow for unforeseen circumstances, and in particular in the cases of expulsion from the party rolls and dismissal from public office it should be very careful. Blame should be placed on the person who made the mistake; parents, spouse, children, and friends and relatives cannot be implicated. The procedures of the stipulations should certainly be followed: the conclusions must be collectively discussed and decided by the party organization, and can only go into effect when reported to high level leadership agencies for approval in accordance with the cadre management jurisdiction and the approval jurisdiction of the party member punished. All conclusions and punishment decisions which have been decided by an individual or which have not yet been ratified by higher level party organizations are totally invalid. Conclusions and views on handling should be seen by the person involved and the person involved should be permitted to present or reserve his own views.

Chapter 8: The Party's Organizational System and Leadership Structure

88. What is the party's democratic centralism? What are the basic principles of democratic centralism?

Answer: The party's democratic centralism means to implement a high degree of centralism on a foundation of a high degree of democracy. Democratic centralism is the fundamental organizational principle of our party and all the party's organizations and all party members must operate in accordance with this fundamental principle.

The organizational principle of democratic centralism reflects the relationship between the leaders and the lead of the party, the relationship between the higher level organizations and the lower level organizations, the relationship between the party members as individuals and the entire body of the party, and the relationship between the party Central Committee and party organizations at different levels, on the one hand, and the party member masses, on the other.

Democracy and centralism are two inseparable sides of one entity, they are contradictory and they are also united and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one side and deny the other.

The fundamental principles of the party's democratic centralism are:

- (1) Party members as individuals submit to party organizations, the minority submits to the majority, the lower level organizations submit to the upper level organizations, all party organizations and all party members submit to the party's National Congress and the Central Committee.
- (2) Party leadership agencies at different levels, with the exception of the representative agencies they appoint and leading party groups of non-party organizations, are all elected.
- (3) The party's highest leadership agency is the National Congress and the Central Committee which it engenders. The party's local leadership agencies at all levels are the local party's congresses at different levels and the committees which they engender. The party's committees at different levels are responsible to and report on their work to the congresses at the same level.

(4) The party's higher level organizations should always heed the opinions of the lower level organizations and the party member masses and promptly resolve the problems which they present. The party's lower level organizations should both ask for instructions and report on their work to the higher level organizations as well as independently and responsibly resolve problems within the scope of their responsibility. There is exchange of information, mutual support, and mutual supervision between higher and lower level organizations.

(5) Party committees at different levels carry out a combined system of collective leadership and division of responsibilities between individuals. All important questions should be democratically discussed and decided by the committee.

(6) The party prohibits any form of personality cult. It should be guaranteed that the activity of party leaders is under the supervision of the party and the people and at the same time, maintain confidence in all leaders who represent the interests of the party and people.

89. How can the party's democratic centralism be perfected?

Answer: To make our party into a strong nucleus for leading socialist modernization, it is necessary, in accordance with the relevant stipulations of the Party Constitution, to perfect effectively the party's democratic centralism and strictly carry out the principles of democratic centralism, and strive to do the following:

(1) Uphold the system of party congresses at different levels. In accordance with the stipulations of the Party Constitution, creating party congresses at different levels, discussing and deciding important questions for the entire party and the local area, and electing party committees at different levels truly fulfills the function of the party's congresses at different levels.

(2) Perfect the party committee system and uphold the combined system of collective leadership and division of responsibilities among individuals. All important questions should be democratically discussed and decided by party committee; no party member, regardless of position, can individually decide an important question. If an individual must make a decision in an emergency situation, it will be speedily reported to the party organization after the fact.

(3) Fully develop democracy within the party, effectively guaranteeing the democratic rights of party members, and standing firm on operating according to the principles of party members must submit to party organizations, the minority submits to the majority, lower level organizations submit to higher level organizations; and all party organizations and all party members obey the party's National Congress and Central Committee.

(4) Being strict about the party's system of organizational life. All party members must actively participate in the party's organizational life,

self-consciously accept the supervision of the party organizations and the masses inside and outside of the party, and there are not permitted to be any special party members who do not participate in the party's organizational life and do not accept the supervision of the masses inside and outside of the party.

90. What is the party committee system? Why is the party committee system carried out?

Answer: The so-called party committee system is the collective leadership system of party committees and under the collective leadership of the party committee a division of responsibility among committee members is carried out; in other words, the party committee system means that committees at different levels implement a system of collective leadership and division of responsibility among individuals.

Implementing the party committee system is an important system for guaranteeing collective leadership and preventing an individual from taking charge arbitrarily. It demands that party committees at different levels must insist on all important questions, must convene the party committee to discuss and decide collectively, no individual has the right to decide important questions; the party committee makes decisions collectively, but each party committee member must resolutely carry them out and within their own area of jurisdiction, resolve questions bravely and responsibly, and conscientiously carry out the work tasks for which he is responsible.

Establishing a robust party committee system is beneficial for mobilizing the collective wisdom and initiative of the members of the party committee, applying their collective wisdom and experience, correctly and thoroughly implementing the party's line, principles, and policies, and ensuring the realization of the correct leadership of the party; it is beneficial for correctly carrying out the principles of democratic centralism, preventing and overcoming the paternalistic work style of individuals acting arbitrarily, and preventing and overcoming the phenomena of no one taking responsibility for or the party committee taking on all specific administrative matters so that democratic life within the party is more normalized.

91. How can the relationship between the party committee secretary and the committee members be correctly understood?

Answer: Party leadership is collective leadership and not the arbitrary actions of an individual; all important questions must be collectively decided by the party's committee and not on the sayso of an individual. This is a fundamental principle of party leadership. On the basis of this principle, the relationship of the party committee secretary and the party members is a relationship of equal comrades, and not a relationship between leader and lead. In a party committee, the secretary, just like other party members, can only express his opinion and discuss questions on an equal basis but cannot place the individual above the other committee members and take arbitrary actions.

Of course, in terms of the secretary's office and duties, he is a little like the "leader" of the committee members and plays an important role in such areas as preparing for and chairing meetings, inspiring the committee members' democratic discussion of the questions, and focusing everyone's views in clear conclusions. That is, in comparison with other committee members, the responsibility carried by the secretary is greater, the burdens heavier and the demands higher and he bears an important responsibility for whether or not the work of an area or department is done well.

Every member of the party committee should conscientiously do his duty and in performing work assigned by the party committee or carrying out resolutions of the party committee, he should accept superintendence, inspection, and guidance by the secretary and in reporting on his own work to the secretary or party committee everyday should report the situation, make suggestions and together do a good job of party committee work.

Both the secretary and the committee member must obey the principles of collective leadership and accept the guidance and supervision of the party committee collective. If in daily work there is a difference of opinion or if a major problem is encountered between the secretary and a committee member, the party committee (including the standing committee) should be convened for discussion, exchange of views, and unifying understanding and a decision made by the party committee collective. No one can depart from the party committee collective and decide for himself. The secretary should support and help other committee members to do their work and should take the initiative to handle relationships with other committee members; each committee member should respect and support the work of the party committee secretary, and accept the supervision and guidance of the secretary. The secretary and the committee members, and committee member and committee member should have mutual respect, mutual support, mutual understanding, mutual study and together support the unity of the party committee members so that the party committee will become a strong leadership nucleus.

92. What is the relationship of the full party committee and the standing committee of the party committee? How long is a meeting of the full party committee at different levels?

Answer: According to the provisions of the Party Constitution, at times when the party congress at different levels is not in session, the party committee elected by the congress is the leadership agency of the party at that level. At times when the party committee above county level is not in session, the standing committee elected by the party committee at that level exercises the powers and functions of the party committee. The standing committee of the party committee is elected by the party committee and should be responsible to and report on its work to the party committee and the congress. The standing committee of the party committee and the full party committee are not in a leader and lead relationship but the standing committee of the party committee receives its authority from the full party committee and is responsible for handling the day-to-day work of the party committee. If the relationship of the two is inverted and the standing committee of the party committee is regarded as leading the full party committee, that would not conform to the party's organizational principles.

Meeting times for full party committees at different levels should be: plenary sessions of the central committee should be held at least once a year. Plenary sessions of the local party committees at different levels should be convened at least once a year. Plenary sessions of party committees which do not have standing committees should be convened at least twice a year.

93. In life within the party why can't individuals decide important questions?

Answer: The Party constitution stipulates that no party member whatever his position can decide important questions on his own, and no leader is permitted to make arbitrary decisions and place himself above the organization. This provision is very necessary for strengthening democratic life within the party and upholding the principle of the party's democratic centralism.

Our party is a unified entity which is organized according to democratic centralism. The basic principles of the party's democratic centralism stipulate that party committees at all levels must carry out a combined system of collective leadership and division of responsibility among individuals and that all important questions should be democratically discussed and decided by the party committee. This is an important guarantee for realizing the correct leadership of the party.

Within the party committee the relationship between committee member and committee member, secretary and deputy secretary, and secretary and committee member is a relationship of equal comrades and not a relationship of leader and lead. For this reason, when the party is discussing and deciding important questions, each member has an equal right to express his individual opinion and participate in formulating policy. Although the secretary and deputy secretary of the party committee have more important responsibility, they cannot for this reason disregard the democratic rights of the other committee members, undermine the party's organizational principles, decide important questions on their own or willfully overturn the resolutions shaped through discussion by the party committee collective. This is a question of the party's organizational principles and no one may violate it.

Speaking from the perspective of epistemology, there are limits to any person's knowledge of objective things, even for a person with great knowledge and experience, one cannot be omniscient and omnipotent, but the sum total of the knowledge of several persons is more comprehensive and more accurate than the knowledge of one person. Upholding democratic discussion and collective decision on important questions by the party committee is beneficial for canvassing varying opinions and broadening benefits, collective wisdom and strength, applying collective wisdom and strength, deciding and handling questions comprehensively and correctly, avoiding major faults in guiding work, and correctly fulfilling the obligations of leadership of the party committee.

Practical experience of several dozen years tell us that each time we uphold the principle of collective discussion and decision of important questions well, political life within the party is normal, the policy decisions made are correct, our undertakings flourish, and work is highly effective; each

time we weaken collective party leadership and an individual has the say-so, life within the party is not normal, democratic centralism is undermined, there are faults in work guidance, and the party's work suffers setbacks. Since the Third Plenum of the 11th party Central Committee, there have been great changes in the situation and the party's collective leadership has been greatly strengthened. However, it should be noted that some comrades have not conscientiously remembered the lessons of historical experience, have been unable to shed the influence of paternalistic work style, and are still accustomed to individuals deciding important questions. As a result, this has influenced the unity of the members of the party committee, weakened the party organization's fighting strength, and has brought along inappropriate losses in work. This must be conscientiously corrected.

Requiring that all important questions be democratically discussed and decided by the party committee is an effective measure for preventing an individual having his say-so. Every member of the party committee must strictly observe this and the main responsible comrades on the party committee in particular should take the lead in carrying it out. Advance notice should be issued for all important questions which must be discussed and decided by the party committee collective so that each member of the party committee can conscientiously prepare an opinion. During discussion, comrades at the meeting should be able to speak out freely and express their opinions fully. If there are different opinions that are hard to unify temporarily, as long as it isn't an urgent matter, there should not be any rushed decisions, so that everyone can split up to do some investigation and research then discuss the matter again and if once is not successful then have one or two more discussions and strive to achieve a unified opinion. If the matter is urgent and the different opinions held by one or two comrades cannot be allowed to delay the matter, it should be put to a vote in accordance with the principle of the minority submitting to the majority and a decision made to avoid delaying the work.

94. Why is it said that the party congresses at different levels and the party committees they engender are the party leadership agencies at different levels. What are the powers of the party's national congress and the party's local congresses at different levels?

Answer: Our party is a unified entity which is organized according to the principles of democratic centralism on the basis of its own guiding principles and regulations. The basic principle of the party's democratic centralism stipulates that party leadership agencies at different levels, with the exception of the representative agencies which they appoint and leading party groups in non-party organizations, are produced through elections; the party's highest leadership agency is the party's national congress and the central committee which it produces, the party's leadership agencies at the local levels are the party's congresses at the local level and their committees, and the party committees are responsible to and report on their work to the congress at their same level. The representatives of party congresses are elected directly or indirectly by party members, they concentrate and reflect the will of the broad party members nationally or in that area, and the representative party member masses exercise power. The party congress not only listens to and examines the work reports of party committees at their

level, and discusses and decides the party's guiding principles, line, policies, and other important questions, but also should elect the party leadership agencies at their level. Only the party's representative assembly can enjoy this high authority. However, since the party's congresses can only be convened once every few years, they cannot be the everyday leadership agencies, thus when the congresses are in adjournment, only the committees they create can be the leadership agencies for the entire party or the party in that area. In this way, the party's congresses and the committees they create become the party's leadership agencies at all levels.

The powers of the party's National Congress are: (1) To hear and examine the reports of the Central Committee; (2) to hear and examine the reports of the Central Advisory Committee and the Central Discipline Inspection Committee; (3) to discuss and decide on the party's important questions; (4) to revise party regulations; (5) to elect the Central Committee; (6) to elect the Central Advisory Committee and the Central Discipline Inspection Committee.

The powers of local congresses are: (1) to hear and examine the reports of the party committee at their level; (2) to hear and examine the report of the discipline and inspection committee at their level; (3) to discuss important questions within the scope of their area and make resolutions; (4) to elect the party committee at their level, to elect the discipline and inspection committee at their level and to elect representatives to attend higher level party congresses.

The party congresses of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities under direct control of the central government elect the advisory committee of their level and hear and examine its reports.

95. Why should the party congresses convene at regular intervals? How many times should the party congresses be held each year?

Answer: Convening the party congresses at set intervals is a fundamental means of carrying out the party's democratic centralism and a fundamental part of developing democracy within the party and improving democratic life within the party. Only by convening the party congresses at set intervals can the party congresses fulfill their proper function as leadership agencies, and depending on the needs of developing circumstances make timely decisions on the party's important principles, policies, and organizational questions, and vigorously guide the party's work in a specific period of time. Real life demonstrates that wilfully delaying the convening of the party's congresses not only can undermine the party's democratic centralism and weaken the authority of the congress, but also can harm the normalization of democratic life within the party and the party's work. In view of the lessons of the past, the Constitution of the 12th Party Congress clearly states that except for extraordinary circumstances, the meeting of the party's National Congress must not be postponed; only under special circumstances and with the approval of the next higher level committee may the meeting of a party congress be advanced or postponed. For this reason, going strictly according to the provisions of the Party Constitution and convening party congresses on schedule is a regulation which party committees at all levels must strictly obey and carry out, no organization or individual may violate it.

According to the provisions of the Party Constitution, frequency of the party congresses is: the party's National Congress, and the congresses of provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly controlled by the central government, municipalite is divided into wards and autonomous districts are held once every five years; party congresses of counties (banners), autonomous counties, municipalities not divided into wards and wards directly under municipal control are held once every three years; congresses which establish committees at grass roots level party organizations are convened once a year.

96. What is the difference between a party congress and a party representative conference?

Answer: The party congress and the party representative conference both are an important form which embodies the party's democratic centralism. From this point alone, there is no fundamental difference between them, but in terms of power, term of office and the way the representatives are chosen there are very great differences:

(1) The powers and missions are different. Party congresses are the party's agencies of power, their official powers are to hear and examine the reports of committees at the same level, hear and examine reports of the discipline and inspection committee of the same level, and the party's National Congress and the congresses of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the control of the central government also hear and examine reports of the advisory committees at the same level; to discuss and decide important party questions; to elect the party committee and the discipline and inspection committee at the same level, and the National Congress and the congresses of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the control of the central government also elect the advisory committee of their level. The party representative conference is held under the leadership of the party committee at that level and its mission is mainly to discuss and decide questions of the party's present work, the party representative conference may elect representatives to attend higher level congresses or representative conferences, but the resolutions of the party representative conference must be ratified by the party committee at their level (for example, important resolutions passed must be reported to upper level party committees for approval) before they become effective.

(2) The term is different. There is a limit to the term of party congresses and they must be held on schedule in accordance with the provisions of the Party Constitution. Party representative conferences are convened between congresses on the basis of work needs and do not have limitation of term.

(3) Method of selection of representatives is different. Representatives to the party congresses are elected by the party congress or by a general meeting of party members; the quota of representatives and the method of selection for the party's representative conference is determined by the committee of the convened congress.

97. How is the will of the voters fully manifested in an election?

Answer: According to the provisions of the Party Constitution, the party congresses or general meeting of party members of the general party branch or party branch are the party leadership agencies and not only should discuss and determine important questions of the entire party or of the area or unit, and also should elect the party committees. That is, according to the provisions of the party Constitution, conducting an election is an important official power of the party congress or the general meeting of party members; fully manifesting the will of the voters in an election is a fundamental condition of elections within the party.

So, how is the will of the voters fully manifested in an election? The most important thing in an election is that democracy be fully fostered, the views of the voters respected, and the democratic rights of the voters effectively guaranteed. The election should be by secret ballot. The list of candidates should be fully deliberated on and discussed by the party organization and the voters, and majority opinion determined. The list of candidates may be developed through preliminary voting, and then a formal election held; the election can also be held without going through a preliminary voting by having more candidates than positions to be filled. The voters have the right to know the candidates situation, demand that candidates be changed, and not to vote for one candidate but vote another. No organization or individual can compel a voter to vote or not vote for a certain person. In the election process, factional and non-organizational activity, investigating ballots and such behavior in violation of the Party Constitution as making a false report of the ballot count or retaliation is absolutely prohibited.

Persons who behave in a manner which undermines the election, should be criticized and educated if the infraction is minor, and should be disciplined by the party if the infraction is major. If any situation in violation of the Party Constitution occurs in elections of local congresses at different levels, after investigation by the next higher level party committee, a decision should be made to nullify the election and adopt appropriate measures and report it to the next higher level party committee for examination and approval, then formally announce it and carry it out.

98. What is a plurality vote? Why should a plurality vote be implemented?

Answer: So-called plurality voting is unequal voting where there are more candidates than seats. There are two types of plurality voting: one is to hold a preliminary election before the formal election creating a list of candidates through the preliminary election and then hold the formal election; the other is at the time of formal election to put forward more candidates than there are seats.

Plurality voting can provide voters in an election with a choice so they can vote for the person they feel most suitable to be a representative or member of a leadership team. This is beneficial for fostering democracy and embodying the will of the voters and thus does a good job of elections within the party.

99. Is adoption of the preliminary voting still plurality voting?

Answer: Preliminary voting itself includes plurality voting. At the time of preliminary voting the names of the candidates have not yet been formalized and through preliminary voting all who receive more than half the votes for representative are declared candidates, and those who receive less than half the votes are not declared candidates.

100. How are representatives to local party congresses at different levels produced?

Answer: The election method and names for local party congresses at different levels are determined by the party committee at that level and reported to the next higher level party committee for approval. The representatives generally should be selected at a party congress or general meeting of party members called by the party organization. During the election, the election should be held by secret ballot after full deliberation and discussion, settling on the candidates on the basis of the views of the majority and by voting methods in line with the provisions of the Party Constitution.

101. Is eligibility for those elected representatives to attend higher level party congresses limited to party members within the organizational scope of the party organization belonging to the party congress at their level?

Answer: When electing representatives to attend higher level party congresses, eligibility is not limited to party members within the scope of the party organizations at the same level as the party congress, but party members from outside the scope of the party organizations at the same level as the party congress may also be elected representatives, but these party members must be party members within the scope of the party organization at the same level as the higher level party congress.

Representatives of the party congresses must be the broadest and most representative and should include party members who have assumed responsibility for work in all areas and should be outstanding persons representative of all areas in order to be able to fully and comprehensively reflect the work situation in different areas and the voices and demands of the party members and the masses so that the party congress does a better job of fulfilling its proper function and does a better job of exercising its authority. To achieve this point, it is necessary to consider all areas and make comprehensive plans. When electing representatives to attend higher level party congresses, except for electing party members from party organizations at the same level as the party congress, when necessary, party members who are outside the scope of the party organizations at the same level as the party congress should also be elected as representatives. For example, certain party members who undertake leadership work in higher level leadership agencies and members of higher level party committees and alternate members and certain representatives must be chosen as representatives, but because of limitations in the number of candidates in the election units to which they belong, they cannot be elected representatives, the higher level party committees can assign them to relevant election units to participate in the election and other election units can elect them representatives in accordance with

election procedures. Such voting methods are beneficial to the party's work and also conform to democracy within the party and the party's organizational principles.

102. Why should the qualifications of the representatives of the Party congresses be examined?

Answer: The aim of examining the qualifications of representatives to the party congresses is to find out if the representative's election conforms to the provisions of the Party Constitution, if the representative is politically reliable, if it conforms to the conditions of representative so as to ensure the political and organizational purity of the party congress.

The authority to examine the qualifications of representatives to the party congresses lies with the party congresses. The party congresses should set up representative qualifications examining committees to be responsible for examining the qualifications of representatives. To do this work thoroughly, before the party's congress begins, party committees at different levels should charge the relevant departments of the party committee to undertake the necessary inquiries about the representatives who have been elected in preparation for the congress's examination of the qualifications of the representatives. During the inquiry process, if it is discovered that the election of a representative does not conform to the stipulated procedures or does not meet the conditions to be a representative, it may be proposed that the original election unit be replaced, and if the original electing unit cannot be replaced in time or does not agree with replacement, then the congress's representative qualifications examining committee should conduct a review and present its views to the representative congress for examining and a decision.

103. Should the party's congresses elect a presidium? What are the tasks of the presidium?

Answer: All convened party congresses should elect a congress presidium. The members of the presidium should be elected by the party congress. At the time of election, the previous party committee may put forth a preliminary list or the session preparatory committee may present names and delegations of the congress may also present names. After the list of names of the candidates for the presidium have been presented, they should be discussed and deliberated by the congress. If there is complete agreement, then it can be passed with a show of hands.

The tasks of the presidium of the party's congresses is to preside over sessions in accordance with the agenda set by the session and the specific organizational provisions, ensure the complete success of the session.

104. How is the secretary-general of the party's congresses selected?

Answer: The secretary-general of the party's congresses is nominated by the session presidium or the party committee of the last congress and approved by congress.

105. Why are alternate representatives for the party congresses chosen?
Do alternate representatives have voting rights?

Answer: The main purpose of choosing alternate representatives for the party congresses is to make it easy to fill vacancies among the regular representatives from among the alternates and at the same time to train and refine more talented persons. Alternate representatives participate in the party congresses, have the right to speak and be elected, but do not have the right to elect or decide by vote.

106. Can representatives attending the party's congresses be appointed by Party organizations without being elected?

Answer: According to the provisions of the Party Constitution, representatives to the party congresses at different levels all are created by election by the party congresses or the party's general membership. The party congresses or general meetings of party members cannot be convened for special reason, but with the approval of the next higher level party committee, a representative conference can be convened for elections. For representatives appointed by the party organizations or individual to attend party congresses is behavior in violation of the Party Constitution and will not be permitted.

107. Can party organizations which are primarily departments in charge under dual leadership elect a representative to attend a party congress convened by the local party committee?

Answer: All party organizations which are primarily departments in charge under dual leadership where the party relationship is local can elect representatives to attend party congresses which are convened by local party committees; those in which the party relationship is in the department in charge, may elect representatives to attend party congresses which are conveyed by local party committees as observers.

108. Can party groups convene party congresses to elect representatives to attend party congresses at higher levels?

Answer: A party organization is not a first level party committee and cannot convene a party congress to elect representatives to attend a party congress at a higher level.

109. Can local (league) committees elect representatives to attend provincial party congresses through a plenary session or enlarged session of the Standing Committee?

Answer: According to the provisions of the Party Constitution, the local (league) committee is an extended agency of the provincial (autonomous region) committee and not a first level party committee. For this reason, it cannot elect representatives to attend provincial (autonomous region) party congresses through a plenary session of the committee or enlarged session of the Standing Committee. Representatives of local (league)

agencies who attend higher level party congresses may be elected by an agency party member congress or general meeting of Party members convened by the local (league) organ party committee.

110. In an election, is the election of a non-candidate who receives over half the votes valid?

Answer: According to the provisions of the Party Constitution, all full party members have the right to vote and to be elected. In a regular election, non-candidates who are full party members and receive over half of the votes of all voters and if the sequence of number of ballots cast is in line with the number of seats, then the election is valid. This is an important principle which fully manifests the will of the voters and thoroughly guarantees the democratic rights of party members and no organization or individual can violate this principle. If something which violates the Party Constitution occurs in the election, that is another matter. After the next higher level party committee has investigated such circumstances, it should decide whether to nullify the election or take other appropriate measures and carry them out, after reporting to the next higher level party committee for examination and approval.

111. When the number of people attending party congresses at different levels or general meetings of the members of a party branch does not exceed a plenum of the representatives or half the members of a party branch can a conference be convened to vote or pass resolutions? When voting or passing resolutions, how are the ballots counted?

Answer: When conducting elections or passing resolutions, party congresses at different levels or general meetings of party branch members, the number of persons attending must be greater than the plenum of representatives or half the number of members of a party branch for meeting resolutions to be effective; if the number of persons does not exceed half the number, elections and passage of resolutions cannot be carried out.

For a party congress or general meeting of party branch members to conduct an election or pass resolutions is a solemn affair and all the representatives or party branch members should be in attendance. Except in special circumstances when leave has been requested and approved, nobody may be absent without reason.

When a party congress or general meeting of party branch members conducts an election and passes resolutions the number of ballots is the same as the number of people attending the meeting.

112. When electing, why is it stipulated that if the number elected is greater than the ballots for the number of seats, all ballots are invalid but if the number elected is fewer than the number of seats, the ballots are still valid?

Answer: In conducting an election, there is a limit to the number of seats to be filled. The voters should cast their ballots according to the stipulated

number of seats to be filled. If the number of persons elected is greater than the number of seats to be filled, all ballots should be invalid; if the number of persons elected is fewer than the number of seats to be filled, it is still effective. This is because, if the number of names on the ballots is greater than the number of seats to be filled, there is no way to determine which person or persons are not to be seated, therefore there is nothing that can be done but to invalidate all ballots. But in the case where the number of persons elected is fewer than the number of seats to be filled, it should still be regarded as effective because it does not create a problem which cannot be calculated.

113. When holding an election can a party branch with a small number of party members carry out a direct election without nominating candidates?

Answer: When a party branch with a small number of party members conducts an election, since there is mutual understanding between the party members and they are familiar with the situation, they need not nominate candidates but can hold a direct election. However, there should be full deliberation and the election should be held only under conditions of full deliberation and understanding.

114. Which agencies are representative agencies appointed by the party committee? Can these agencies convene party congresses or party conferences?

Answer: According to the Party Constitution and relevant provisions, party committees at county level and above may appoint their own representative agencies. For example, regional party committees and organizations corresponding to regional party committees are representative agencies which provincial and autonomous region party committees can appoint within the scope of several counties, autonomous counties and municipalities. The ward (industry) committees of some counties are representative agencies appointed by the county committee. Appointed agencies are established to facilitate the direction of local work and on the basis of powers delegated by higher party committees lead work in the local area.

Representative agencies appointed by the party committee cannot convene party congresses or party representative conferences. When these appointed agencies must elect representatives to attend higher level party congresses, the party committee to which the organ is directly subordinate or the party branch may convene the party congress or a general meeting of party members to hold an election.

115. When local party congresses at different levels are in adjournment are the secretary, deputy secretary, and standing committee appointed by the higher level party organizations elected by the lower level party committee plenum?

Answer: When local party congresses at different levels are in adjournment, when the higher level party organization thinks it is necessary, it may transfer or appoint the responsible person of a lower level party organization without going through election or the approval process of a plenum of a lower level party committee.

116. How are the standing committee, secretary, and deputy secretary of the local party committees chosen?

Answer: Party congresses elect party committees at their own level, the party committee at the same level elects its standing committee and secretary and deputy secretary. The party standing committee and secretary and deputy secretary should be candidates who have been repeatedly deliberated and decided on by a plenary meeting of the committee, have been examined by higher level party committee, elected by secret ballot, and, depending on cadre managerial jurisdiction, reported to the Central Committee or higher level party committee for approval.

117. Should the committee members of the local party committees at different levels report to the higher level party committee for approval?

Answer: Article 27 of the Party Constitution stipulates: "Plenary sessions of local party committees at different levels elect the standing committee, secretary, and deputy secretary, and report them to higher level party committee for approval." According to this provision, the committee members and alternate committee members elected by local party congresses at different levels need not be reported to the higher level party committee for approval. But before a congressional election, the higher level party organization should be informed and an agreement in principle secured; after the election, it must be reported to the higher level committee for the record.

118. Where are the organizational party committees (general branch and branch) set up by the ministries, commissions, offices and bureaus of party and state organs at different levels approved?

Answer: The organizational party committees established by ministries and commissions of central state organs are approved by the organizational party committee directly subordinate to the central government or by the state organizational party committee; organizational party committees (general branch and branch) established by provincial, municipal, and autonomous region ministries, commissions, offices, and bureaus are approved by organizational party committees directly subordinate to the province, municipality, and autonomous region; organizational party committees or general branch and branch established by local and county ministries, commissions, offices and bureaus are approved by the local and county committees or by the organizational party committees directly subordinate to the local area or county; secretaries and deputy secretaries of organizational party committees should be approved by the higher level party organization in accordance with the cadre managerial jurisdiction.

119. How is the party standing committee members and alternate committee members of party committees at the county level defined?

Answer: The Party Constitution stipulates that committee members and alternate committee members of party committees of county (banner), autonomous county, municipalities not divided into wards, and municipalities directly under the control of the central government must have been a

party member for more than 3 years. According to the spirit of this provision, members of party committees corresponding to county level units must have been party members for more than 3 years.

120. How is the term of the party general branch and branch defined?

Answer: Before the Party Constitution of the 12th Party Congress was approved, the term of the party general branch committee and branch committee was 1 year. The Party Constitution of the 12th Party Congress stipulates that the term of the party general branch committee and the branch committee is 2 years. General branches and branches elected before the Party Constitution of the 12th Party Congress uniformly served in accordance with the provisions of the Party Constitution of the 12th Party Congress.

121. How are leading party groups established? What are their missions?

Answer: The Party Constitution stipulates that leading party groups be created in the leadership agencies of central and local state organs, people's organizations, economic organizations, cultural organizations and other non-party organizations. These organizations include: ministries and commissions of the central state agencies, bureaus and economic management agencies directly under the State Council, and mass organizations; offices and bureaus of provincial, municipal, and autonomous region state agencies and mass organizations; commissions, offices and bureaus of state agencies of municipalities under provincial control and mass organizations; zhou (regional), county (municipal) government, people's congresses, people's political consultative congress agencies and government departments and mass organizations.

Members of leading party groups are appointed from party committee members approved to create a leading party group. The leading party group appoints the secretary and deputy secretary. The leading party group should work under the leadership of the party committee which approved its creation.

The basic mission of leading party groups is mainly to be responsible for implementing the party's principles and policies, rallying together non-party cadres and the masses, complete tasks given to it by the party and state, and guiding the work of agency party organizations.

122. What is the relationship between the leading party group and the organizational party group of the same unit?

Answer: The leading party group is not a first level party committee. The relationship of the leading party group and the agency party organization (organizational party committee, general branch, or branch) of its unit is a guiding relationship, and not a leading relationship. The party organizations (organizational party committees, general branch or branch) of these units are directly under the leadership of the organizational party committee at the same level or the party committee at the same level. However, leading party groups of organs should vigorously support and strengthen leadership of the work of the unit's party organization and help them resolve

questions; the party organization of the unit should report on work to the organ's leading party group, report the general situation, and take the initiative in getting the leading party group to guide the work of the organizational party group.

123. How is the relationship between higher level party organizations and lower level party organizations to be handled correctly?

Answer: As the fundamental principles of the party's democratic centralism stipulate, higher level and lower level party organizations are in a relationship of leader and lead. That means that higher level party organizations have the right to lead lower level party organizations; lower level party organizations must submit to the leadership of higher level party organizations.

To handle the relationship between higher level party organizations and lower level party organizations correctly, the higher level party organizations should constantly hear the opinions of lower level organizations, and promptly resolve the questions they put forward, and give them vigorous guidance and help in their work. Under normal circumstances, when deciding on an important question related to the lower level organizations the higher level party organizations should solicit the opinions of the lower level organizations and guarantee that the lower level organizations can regularly exercise their official powers; the higher level party organizations should not interfere in all questions which should be handled by the lower level organization, if they do not involve special circumstances. The lower level party organizations should both ask for instructions beforehand and submit reports afterwards to higher level party organizations as well as independently and responsibly resolve questions which are within the scope of their own responsibility. Between higher and lower level organizations there should be mutual exchange of information, mutual support, and mutual supervision.

Lower level party organizations must uphold and carry out the decisions of the higher level organizations. If lower level party organizations feel that the decisions of higher level party organizations do not conform to the actual circumstances in the local area or department, they may request a change; if the higher level party organizations insist on the original decision, the lower level party organization must carry out the decision of the higher level party organization and cannot publicly express a different opinion, but has the right to report to the next higher level organization.

124. How should the names of the provincial, municipal and autonomous region first level advisory committees and discipline inspection committees at different levels be determined?

Answer: Provincial, municipal, autonomous region first level advisory committees and discipline inspection committees at different levels should be called: "Chinese Communist Party xx Province (Municipality, Autonomous Region) Advisory Committee", "Chinese Communist Party xx Province (Municipality, Autonomous Region) Discipline Inspection Committee", "Chinese Communist Party xx County (Banner, Municipality, Ward) Discipline Inspection Committee."

Chapter 9: Grassroots Party Organizations

125. What are grassroots party organizations? How are they established?

Answer: Grassroots party organizations are bridges linking the party and its leading organs with the vast numbers of party members and the masses. They are fighting bastions for the party to guide the party members and the masses of grassroots organizations in society to carry out the socialist modernization drive.

The Party Constitution stipulates: "All factories, stores, schools, state organs, neighborhood committees, people's communes, supply and marketing cooperatives, farms, villages, towns, PLA companies and other grassroots units with three or more regular party members should establish grassroots party organizations." The Party Constitution also stipulates: "In accordance with the need in work and the number of party members and with the approval of the party organizations at higher levels, grassroots party organizations should set up grassroots party committees, general party branch committees and party branch committees."

The organizational form of grassroots party organizations should be determined in accordance with the need of the work and the number of party members. Under general circumstances, with the approval of party committees at higher levels, grassroots units with over 100 party members may establish grassroots party committees under which several general party branches or party branches may be set up; grassroots units with over 50 party branches may be set up; grassroots units with over 3 and less than 50 party members may establish party branches; and grassroots units with less than three regular party members may establish joint party branches with the party members of neighboring units. Some scientific research academies and institutes, factories, mines and other enterprises, diplomatic and foreign trade establishments and border defense organs which are vital to the national economy and the people's livelihood and which have relatively strong leading forces may establish with the approval of party committees at higher levels grassroots party committees or general party branch committees even though the number of their party members is less than 100 or 50.

126. What are the basic tasks of grassroots party organizations?

Answer: Grassroots party organizations (grassroots committees, general branches and branches) should give full play to the role of fighting

bastions and do a good job in the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. Their basic tasks are:

- (1) Advocate and carry out the party's line, principles and policies as well as the resolutions made by the CPC Central Committee, organizations at higher levels and their own organizations, give full play to the role of party members as vanguards and models and units and organize the cadres and the masses inside and outside the party to strive to fulfill the tasks of the units to which they belong.
- (2) Organize party members to study conscientiously Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, fundamental knowledge of the party, the party's line, principles and policies as well as sciences, culture and professional skills.
- (3) Conduct education and management of party members, adhere to strict organizational life of the party, supervise party members in fulfilling their duties and observing disciplines and guard against the infringement on party members' rights.
- (4) Maintain close ties with the masses, constantly solicit the criticisms and opinions of the masses concerning party members and party work, respect the knowledge and rational proposals of the masses and experts, safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the masses, show concern for and help them improve their material and cultural living standards and do a good job in ideological and political work among the masses to raise their political awareness. Erroneous views and unhealthy tendencies among the masses should be corrected by adopting appropriate measures. Contradictions among the masses should be handled properly.
- (5) Give full play to the initiative and creativity of party members and the masses, discover advanced elements among them and other talented people needed in the socialist cause, encourage them and help them improve their work and carry out renovations and creative activities.
- (6) Recruit new party members, collect membership fees, examine and appraise party members, applaud exemplary deeds of party members and safeguard and enforce party discipline.
- (7) Conduct criticism and self-criticism to expose and correct defects and mistakes in work; educate and supervise party-member cadres and other working personnel to ensure they strictly abide by state laws, policies and disciplines, strictly observe the state's financial and economic disciplines and personnel system and do not infringe on the interests of the state, collectives and the masses; and supervise the financial and accounting personnel and other specialists in law enforcement in their own units to ensure they do not violate the law while enforcing it and at the same time to ensure they can independently exercise their functions and powers according to law without being infringed on, attacked or retaliated against.
- (8) Educate party members and the masses to heighten their revolutionary vigilance and wage a resolute struggle against the criminal activities of counterrevolutionaries and other saboteurs.

127. Which grassroots party organizations have the function of leading the work in their own units and which have the function of ensuring and supervising it?

Answer: According to the Party Constitution, grassroots party committees, general party branch committees and party branch committees all belong to grassroots party organizations. Since the nature of work and circumstances are different in different units, the functions of grassroots party organizations are also different. Some grassroots party organizations have the function of leading the work in their own units; some only have the function of ensuring and supervising, not leading, the work in their own units.

Which grassroots party organizations have the function of leading the work in their own units? According to the Party Constitution, grassroots party committees in enterprises and institutions as well as general party branch committees and party branch committees which are not affiliated with any grassroots party committees have the function of leading the work in their own units. These party organizations should assume the responsibility of leading all work in their own units, conscientiously carry out their duties and focus main energies and time on implementing party principles and policies, doing a good job in ideological and political work and selecting, assigning, evaluating and supervising cadres. As for major issues of principle in their own units, party organizations should conduct conscientious discussions, make appropriate decisions and turn them over to administrative departments to be put into practice. During the course of carrying out such decisions, party organizations should conduct supervision and examination, discover problems and sum up experiences to speed up the work. Instead of running the whole show, party organizations should ensure that responsible administrative personnel can fully exercise their functions and powers. Party organizations should conduct ideological education in patriotism, collectivism and communism among all party members, staff members, workers and the masses, criticize and correct various unhealthy tendencies, correctly handle the relations among the state, collectives and individuals, give play to the role of party members as vanguards and models in the building of material and spiritual civilization and arouse the initiative of staff members, workers and the masses as well as their sense of responsibility of being their own masters.

Which grassroots organizations have the functions of assurance and supervision? According to the Party Constitution, except for special circumstances, general party branch committees and party branch committees under the control of grassroots party committees only have the function of ensuring and supervising the correct fulfillment of the production tasks and professional work in their own units. This is because grassroots party committees exercise direct leadership in these units. If general party branch committees and party branch committees also exercise leadership in these units, they would cause multiple leadership which is harmful to administrative departments with regard to exercising unified command over production and professional work in accordance with the decision of party committees. Under the leadership of party committees, general party branch committees and party branch committees should publicize the party's line, principles and policies, educate party members and oversee that they conscientiously carry out their

duties as party members and give full play to their roles as vanguards and models in production, work and social activities. They should do a good job in the ideological and political work of party members and the masses, oversee party-member cadres and other working personnel to ensure they strictly abide by party discipline and state law, strictly observe the state's financial and economic disciplines and personnel system and ensure and oversee their own units conscientiously implement the party's line, principles and policies, correctly execute the decisions of party committees and the orders of administrative departments and comprehensively fulfill production tasks and other work assignments so as to give full play to the function of general party branches as fighting bastions.

The Party Constitution also stipulates that grassroots party organizations in party and government organs do not exercise leadership over the professional work in their own units. This is because party and government organs at all levels are leading organs of the party and government at all levels or departments responsible for work and they all have leading bodies elected by relevant organs of authority or leading cadres assigned by higher levels. Under the leadership of party committees or government organs at higher levels, these leading bodies and cadres independently and responsibly exercise their functions and powers to fulfill various tasks assigned them by higher levels. Therefore, they hold themselves responsible only to the organs of authority that elected or assigned them or the leading organs at higher levels. They do not hold themselves responsible to the grassroots party organizations in their own units, nor do they accept their leadership. Although the grassroots party organizations in party and government organs cannot exercise leadership over the professional work in their own units, they should supervise the activities of all party members including responsible administrative personnel and constantly check their performance in implementing the party's line, principles and policies, observing discipline and law and maintaining ties with the masses as well as their ideological understanding, workstyle and moral character. The party organizations should also assist administrative leaders in improving work, raising efficiency and overcoming bureaucracy and inform responsible administrative personnel of the defects and problems they discovered in the work of party and government organs or report them to higher party organizations.

128. What are the functions of the grassroots party organizations in party and government organs?

Answer: The Party Constitution stipulates that grassroots party organizations in the party and government organs at all levels do not exercise leadership over the professional work in their own units. This is because the actual conditions and the nature of work in party and government organs are different from that in production units and other grassroots units. Enterprises and institutions are mostly independent units on the first line of production and other work. In these units, grassroots party committees and those general party branch committees and party branch committees which are not under the control of grassroots party committees can exercise leadership over the work in their own units and conduct discussions and make decisions concerning major issues of principle in their own units; whereas party and government organs carry out their professional work under the

leadership of higher organs and hold themselves responsible to higher organs. The grassroots party organizations in these organs can only exercise the function of ensuring and supervising, not leading, the professional work in their own units. Because of this, the grassroots party organizations in party and government organs should supervise all party members including responsible administrative personnel in regard to their performance in implementing the party line, principles and policies, observing discipline and law and maintaining ties with the masses as well as their ideological understanding, workstyle and moral character. They should assist administrative leaders in improving work, raising efficiency and overcoming bureaucracy, inform responsible administrative personnel of the defects and problems they discovered in the work of party and government organs or report them to higher party organizations. In accordance with the stipulations of the Party Constitution concerning the basic tasks of grassroots party organizations, they should do a conscientious job in their work, give full play to the role of fighting bastions and ensure the successful fulfillment of all tasks in party and government organs.

129. Do grassroots party committees have standing committees?

Answer: In order to reduce administrative levels, promote work and give full play to the leading function of grassroots party committees, grassroots party committees generally do not have standing committees. As for some large factories, mines and other enterprises and some institutions of higher education, because the locations of some units are scattered in addition to a large number of party members and broad scope of work, the grassroots party committees, with the approval of party committees at higher levels, may set up standing committees in accordance with the number of party members and the need of work so as to facilitate work and strengthen collective leadership. In units where standing committees have been set up, attention should be paid to exercising the functions of grassroots party committees to avoid replacing them with standing committees and making them exist only in name.

130. Do the party congresses of grassroots party organizations use a permanent delegate system?

Answer: Article 31 of the Party Constitution stipulates that each grassroots party committee is elected for a term of 3 years and that the grassroots organizations where grassroots party committees have been set up generally convene party congresses or general party membership meetings once a year. This stipulation does not mean that party congresses of grassroots party organizations use a permanent delegate system. As for the question why the Party Constitution does not stipulate the use of a permanent delegate system, Comrade Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2602] gave a clear explanation when answering the questions of reporters of the Xinhua News Agency concerning the revision of the Party Constitution. The essence of the aforementioned stipulation is identical to that of the stipulation which states: Each general party branch committee and each party branch committee is elected for a term of 2 years; general party branches generally convene general membership meetings twice a year and party branches generally convene general membership meetings once every 3 months. The objectives of both stipulations are to discuss and resolve promptly, through general membership meetings or party congresses,

issues concerning the work of grassroots party organizations, to better fulfill their basic tasks and, at the same time, to enable the broad masses of party members to exercise effective supervision over grassroots party organizations.

Whether or not new delegates should be elected when grassroots party committees convene party congresses is to be decided by the party committees at the higher levels in accordance with actual conditions.

Party congresses held before the term of grassroots party committees is over only discuss and resolve issues concerning the work of grassroots party organizations or elect delegates to attend party congresses held at higher levels; they do not elect grassroots party committees.

131. What is the relationship between the general membership meeting of a party branch and a party branch committee?

Answer: The general membership meeting of a party branch and a party branch committee, which is elected by the former, are both leading organs of a party branch. The party branch committee takes charge of the day-to-day work of the party branch when the general membership meeting is not in session.

Party branch committees should hold themselves responsible to the general membership meetings of party branches and the party organizations at higher levels. They should regularly submit work reports to the general membership meetings of party branches and accept their examination and supervision. Major issues concerning party branches such as studying and implementing the resolutions and instructions of the party organizations at higher levels, electing new party branch committees, recruiting new party members and determining the punishment of party members who have committed mistakes should all be discussed and resolved at the general membership meetings of party branches. Party branch committees can only conscientiously carry out, not revise or reverse, the decisions of the general membership meetings of party branches. In order to make things convenient for general membership meetings of party branches to discuss issues and make resolutions, party branch committees may offer tentative ideas and plans which, however, must not be forced on the general membership meetings of party branches. Still less should party branch committees be placed above the general membership meetings of party branches which have the right to revise or refuse resolutions and decisions of the former. If a resolution of a certain party branch's general membership meeting is discovered as violating the party's line and principles and the resolutions of higher level party committees, appeals can be made to higher level party organizations for adjudication or the party branch can convene another general membership meeting to discuss and resolve the problem.

132. How do we make a success of the general membership meetings of party branches?

Answer: In accordance with the directives of higher party organizations and the need of work, party branch committees should set the agenda for the

general membership meetings of party branches. The agenda should be clear and definite with outstanding central tasks. Prior to the meeting, full preparations should be carried out and all party members should be informed of the contents and requirements of the meeting. Giving full play to democracy and under the guidance of chairmen, participants at the general membership meetings of party branches should carry out conscientious discussions around central tasks on the agenda, feel free to air their views and make resolutions in accordance with the principle that the minority should submit to the majority. Resolutions are invalid unless they are approved by over half of the regular party members present at the meeting. As for the issues on which the participants cannot reach an agreement after discussions, instead of making hasty decisions they can be further deliberated after the meeting and approved at the next meeting. If necessary, they can be reported to higher level party organizations.

133. What kind of members do party branches generally have?

Answer: The number of members in a party branch committee should be determined in accordance with the number of party members and the need of work. Generally speaking, it is proper to have three to seven members. Those party branch committees with only a few members may have a secretary, an organization member, a propaganda member and a discipline inspection member; those with more members may add a deputy secretary and other members. Party branches with less than 10 party members generally do not form party branch committees. In such party branches, a secretary may be directly elected by party members and, if necessary, a deputy secretary may also be elected.

134. What are the main duties of a party branch secretary?

Answer: Under the collective leadership of the party branch committee and in accordance with the resolutions of the general membership meeting of the party branch and the party branch committee, the party branch secretary takes charge of the day-to-day work of the party branch. His tasks are:

(1) To be responsible for convening party branch committee meetings and general membership meetings of the party branch; conscientiously convey and implement, in light of actual conditions in his own unit, the party's line, principles and policies and the resolutions and directives of higher levels; study and make arrangements for the party branch's work and promptly submit major issues in the party branch's work to the party branch committee and the party branch's general membership meeting to be discussed and resolved.

(2) To understand and master the situations concerning party members' ideology, work and study, solve problems as soon as they are discovered and conduct ideological and political work on a regular basis.

(3) To examine the situation and problems in implementing the work plans and resolutions of the party branch and submit timely work reports to the party branch committee, the general party membership meeting and higher party organizations.

(4) To maintain close ties with the members of party branch committee and other responsible administrative personnel at his level, exchange information with them, support their work, coordinate the relations among the party, the government, the trade union and the CYL within the unit and fully arouse the enthusiasm of all fields.

(5) To do a good job in the study of the party branch committee, convene party branch committee life meetings on schedule, strengthen unity, pay attention to the self-construction of party committee members and give full play to the role of collective leadership of the party branch committee.

The deputy party branch secretary should assist the party branch secretary in work. During the absence of the secretary, the deputy secretary should take charge of the day-to-day work of the party branch.

135. What are the main duties of a party branch organization member?

Answer: Under the collective leadership of the party branch committee, the main duties of an organization member are:

(1) To understand and control the organization situation in the party branch, make suggestions for dividing and readjusting party groups in accordance with the needs and urge party groups to participate in regular organizational life.

(2) To understand and control the ideological situations of party members, help propaganda and discipline inspection members conduct ideological and disciplinary education among party members, collect and compile information of party members' exemplary deeds and make suggestions to the party branch committee for applauding and commending party members.

(3) To take charge of training, educating and examining activists and probationary party members, make suggestions for party members' promotion and handle concrete procedures for recruiting new party members and changing probationary party members into regular ones.

(4) To change the organizational affiliation for party members and collect party membership fees on time.

136. What are the main duties of a party branch propaganda member?

Answer: Under the collective leadership of the party branch committee, the main duties of a propaganda member are:

(1) To understand the ideological situations inside and outside the party, make suggestions for propaganda and education work and mete out and set forth plans and suggestions for study.

(2) To organize party members to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the theory of politics, policies in current affairs, the Party Constitution and the fundamental knowledge of the party.

(3) To carry out propaganda work around the tasks of different periods in accordance with the directives of higher party committees.

(4) To guide the masses of his own unit to study scientific, technological and cultural knowledge and organize and carry out cultural and sports activities.

137. Why do party branch committees need to be reelected on schedule?

Answer: The Party Constitution stipulates that each general party branch committee and each party branch committee is elected for a term of 2 years. According to this stipulation, party branch committees should be reelected on schedule. This is because reelecting party branch committees on schedule is conducive to better developing democracy and perfecting inner-party democratic life; conducive to summing up experiences and lessons and continuously improving party branch work; conducive to selecting successors and continuously consolidating party branches' leading bodies; and conducive to accepting supervision by the masses and maintaining close ties between the party and the masses. Whether or not party branch committees can be reelected on schedule concerns the question of whether or not the Party Constitution can be conscientiously observed. Therefore, by no means should any excuses be allowed to use to play for time; and should the reelection be overdue without proper reasons, party members have the right to make demands which should be handled properly by higher level party organizations.

138. Is it necessary for the party branch committee to submit a work report to the party branch's general membership meeting during its reelection? What contents should the work report include?

Answer: According to the stipulations of the Party Constitution, party branch committees should hold themselves responsible to and submit work reports to the general membership meetings of party branches. Submitting work reports to the general membership meetings of party branches during the reelection of party branch committees is an expression that party branch committees are responsible to the general membership meetings of party branches. Therefore, during the reelection of party branch committees, if there is no special circumstance, current party branch committees must submit work reports to the general membership meetings of party branches. This can make all party branch members understand the situations of the party branches in implementing the party's line, principles and policies and fulfilling various tasks. It can make things convenient for party members to review the work of party branches, carry out criticism, make suggestions and create good conditions for the work of the next party branch committees. At the same time, it can also help develop inner-party democracy, revitalize inner-party democratic life and make party branch committees and party branch members become more aware of the need to implement the party's system of democratic centralism.

Such work reports should generally include the following contents: Examination of the situations of party branches in implementing the party's line, principles and policies as well as resolutions of higher party

organizations; summary of the situations of party branches in fulfilling various tasks and carrying out self-construction; summary of experiences and lessons gained by party branches; and views and suggestions for the work of the next party branch committees.

After submitting such work reports, party branch committees should conscientiously organize party members to carry out discussions, heed their views with patience and provide responsible explanations and answers for criticisms or inquiries if there are any.

139. Are party groups considered a level of party organizations? What are their main tasks and functions?

Answer: Party groups are not considered a level of party organizations. The stipulations of the Party Constitution concerning the party's organizations at the grassroots level clearly point out that grassroots party organizations refer to grassroots party committees, general party branch committees and party branch committees. Party groups are only a part of the party branches which are formed in accordance with the number and distribution of party members for the convenience of carrying out activities. Party branches with only a few party members may not need to form party groups.

Party groups' tasks and functions are to carry out the resolutions of party branches by taking vigorous actions under the leadership of party branches and guarantee the fulfillment of all tasks of party branches. Specifically, they should:

(1) Assign a certain amount of work to every party member in accordance with actual conditions and organize party members to carry out the resolutions of party branches in a concrete manner.

(2) Organize party members to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the fundamental knowledge of the party, policies concerning current affairs, as well as culture, science and technology.

(3) Convene party group life meetings on a regular basis, conduct criticism and self-criticism, organize and urge party members to participate in various party activities as scheduled and collect party membership fees on time.

(4) Organize party members to publicize party policies and resolutions among the masses, carry out ideological and political work among them, constantly reflect their views and demands to party branch committees and show concern for their material and cultural life.

(5) Help party branches do a good job in appraising party members, fostering activists to become party members, recruiting party members, educating and examining probationary party members and helping them become regular party members.

Chapter 10: Party Life

140. What is the difference between party life and the organizational life of the party?

Answer: There are links as well as differences between party life and the organizational life of the party. Party life includes the organizational life of the party but the latter is not completely equivalent to the former.

In a broad sense, all inner-party activities belong to party life. For example, attending party group meetings, party branch committee meetings, general membership meetings of party branches, party committee meetings, party congresses, party representatives' meetings, inner-party elections, the party's democratic life meetings and party lectures; reading party publications and inner-party documents; hearing inner-party reports; and participating in other inner-party political activities--these all belong to party life.

What we usually refer to as the organizational life of the party mainly means that party members attend the general membership meetings and party group meetings in the party branches to which they belong and the inner-party democratic life meetings called separately by party-member leading cadres.

141. Why is it necessary to adhere to strict organizational life of the party?

Answer: The Party Constitution clearly stipulates that every party member, regardless of the level of position, must be included in a party branch, a party group or other specific party organizations to participate in the organizational life of the party and accept the supervision by the masses inside and outside the party; and that no one must be allowed to become a special party member who does not participate in the organizational life of the party and accept the supervision of the masses inside and outside the party. This shows that adhering to strict organizational life of the party is a system stipulated in the Party Constitution. It is an organizational measure for strengthening the control over party members, criticizing and supervising party members and urging them to bring into play their roles as vanguards and models. It is also an important part of the efforts to strengthen party building. All party organizations must adhere to the system of the party's organizational life and lead a strict organizational life of the party.

To adhere to strict organizational life of the party, it is necessary to do a good job in the following areas:

- (1) Continuously raise the consciousness of party members in taking part in the organizational life of the party and make them understand that adhering to strict organizational life of the party is our party's consistent tradition, a need for strengthening party building in the new period as well as an effective measure for correcting party workstyle, enhancing party spirit and increasing our party's fighting capacity. Only by voluntarily taking part in the organizational life of the party can party members effectively receive education from party organizations and help from comrades with party membership, continuously develop their achievements, overcome their shortcomings, increase their ability, do a good job in their work, never fall behind and become qualified communist party members.
- (2) Adhere to the party system of organizational life. Under general circumstances, party group meetings should be held once a month to hear ideological briefings, study documents and conduct criticism and self-criticism. The general membership meetings of party branches should be held at least once a quarter to sum up and report work, heed party members' opinions and discuss and decide on major issues in the work of party branches.
- (3) Conscientiously conduct criticism and self-criticism. At the organizational life meetings of the party, party members should have a clear-cut stand and applaud those who should be applauded and criticize those who should be criticized. They should not only conscientiously criticize themselves but also wage an active ideological struggle against others. In the spirit of helping others and seeking truth from facts, they should clarify rights and wrongs, unite comrades and prevent and overcome such liberal phenomena as "everybody is fine and all are on good terms" and "It is better to say less although one is fully aware what is wrong."
- (4) Pay attention to the effect of the party's organizational life. Preparations should be carried out prior to the meetings, topics of the meetings should be concentrated and every organizational life meeting must be focused on solving one or two issues. It is not recommended to hold meetings without preparations and talk about pointless and irrelevant matters at the meetings because it cannot solve problems but waste time and dampen party members' enthusiasm for attending such meetings.
- (5) Party organizations at higher levels should constantly carry out inspection and supervision, pay attention to summing up and spreading the experiences of successful organizational life meetings and help party branches and party groups improve the quality of the party's organizational life meetings.

142. Why is it necessary for leading cadres with party membership to take part in dual organizational life?

Answer: The so-called participation in dual organizational life means that leading cadres with party membership need to attend the organizational life

meetings held by the party branches and party groups of their units as well as the democratic life meetings held separately by party committees (leading party groups).

Leading cadres with party membership, regardless of their position, must take part in party life as ordinary party members and voluntarily accept the supervision of party organizations and the masses inside and outside the party. It is not allowed to have any special party member in the party who does not take part in the party's organizational life and accept the supervision by party organizations and the masses inside and outside the party. Therefore, every leading cadre with party membership should not only join a party branch and a party group but also persist in attending the party branch and party group life meetings. If they really cannot attend the meetings for some special reason, they should ask party branches or party groups for excused absence.

Leading cadres with party membership also need to attend the democratic life meetings held separately by party committees (leading party groups). This is because after working together for a long period of time these comrades meet each other more often and know more about each other. Besides, when they have a difference of opinion on ideology or work, it is not convenient for them to bring it up at the meetings of party branches or party groups and it is also difficult for party branches and party groups to help them solve their problems. Therefore, party committees (leading party groups) need to hold the party's democratic life meetings separately for these comrades to exchange views and ideas, keep each other informed through heart-to-heart talks, conduct necessary criticism and self-criticism, help and supervise each other, sum up experiences and unify their ideological understanding with regard to some important issues such as implementing the party's principles, policies and resolutions and maintaining political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee as well as some issues concerning each other's ideology, workstyle and work. This practice can help raise the awareness of the need to implement the party's line, principles and policies, correct party workstyle, consolidate unity, establish closer ties between the party and the masses, strengthen collective leadership, continuously improve the work of leadership and raise the level of leadership.

143. Why is it necessary for party members to report to party organizations on their ideological and work progress on a regular basis?

Answer: The practice of having party members report to party organizations on their ideological and work progress is a means for party members to accept the education and supervision conducted by party organizations as well as a way for party organizations to understand and control party members' ideological and work progress. This practice has already become a good tradition in our party. It should be continuously adhered to and perfected.

Experience gained through practice has proved that having party members report to party organizations on their ideological and work progress can make party organizations understand and control party members' progress in

implementing the party's line, principles and policies and help party members enhance understanding of policies, correct political orientation and become politically identical to the CPC Central Committee. It can make party organizations actually understand party members' ideological progress and conduct ideological education in specific areas to help party members heighten ideological awareness, overcome various non-proletarian ideas and establish a firm communist outlook on the world. At the same time, this kind of report can help continuously foster and increase party members' understanding of organizations and discipline, spur them to examine and set demands on themselves constantly in accordance with the requirements of communist party members and impel them to bring into full play their roles as vanguards and models in production, work and social activities. Therefore, it is necessary for every party member to report voluntarily to party organizations on his or her ideology and work on a regular basis. It is still more necessary for party-member cadres to report to party organizations on their ideological and work situations in the capacity of ordinary party members.

The so-called regular report mainly refers to attending party branch and party group life meetings and conscientiously and responsibly reporting to party organizations on their ideology and work at the party's organizational life meetings so as to receive help from party organizations and fellow comrades. Moreover, if problems arise or something happens in the ideology and work of party members or other people, they should be reported and reflected to party organizations as soon as they are discovered. Those party members who spend a long time traveling out of town should constantly submit written or oral reports to party organizations on their ideological and work situations.

144. How do we organize those party members who have left their jobs to rest, those who have retired and those who have quit working to take part in the party's organizational life?

Answer: Paying attention to organizing the aforementioned party members to take part in the organizational life of the party is an important task of party organizations and is of great significance in continuously bringing their active roles into play and preserving their qualities as true communist party members.

(1) If party member cadres are settled in the same district and controlled by the same units where they worked before they left their jobs to rest or before they retired, the party organizations of their former work units should include them in party branches and have them take part in the organizational life of the party on a regular basis. Where conditions permit, separate party branches may be set up for these cadres or for cadres' rest homes. With regard to those who live far away from units where they used to work, in light of actual conditions, separate party groups or branches may be set up for them and special personnel may be assigned by party organizations to keep in touch with them; or they may contact the neighborhood party committees where they live to let them ordinarily participate in some social activities of their neighborhood and periodically return to their former work units to take part in the organizational life of the party. Those retired

cadres with party membership who had switched their party affiliation to the neighborhood party committees before they retired may continue to take part in the organizational life of the party in the neighborhood.

(2) If retired party member workers and those party member cadres and workers who have quit working are settled in the same district where they used to live, their party affiliation should be switched to the party organizations of district neighborhoods (or rural brigades) where they live and the party organizations of district neighborhoods (or rural brigades) should take charge of organizing them to take part in the organizational life of the party.

(3) If those party members who have left their jobs to rest, those who have retired or those who have quit working are settled in different districts, their party affiliation should be switched to districts where they will live and party organizations of these districts should take charge of organizing them to take part in the organizational life of the party.

(4) If those party members who have left their jobs to rest or those who have retired need to leave town for a period of over 6 months to see doctors or visit their children or relatives, the party organizations of their units should write a letter of identification of party membership and have the party organizations of the units (or districts), to which they are going, accept them and make arrangements for them to take part in the organizational life of the party there.

(5) Elderly and chronically ill party members and those who are difficult to move about should not be forced to attend relevant inner-party meetings. Party organizations should assign certain party members to keep in touch with them, relay the guidelines of inner-party documents to them and reflect their opinions and demands.

(6) In districts or units where many party member residents have left their jobs or retired, in order for them to read and hear the relay of documents promptly, party organizations may distribute extra copies of certain documents in accordance with concrete conditions and assign special persons to take care of them for special use.

(7) For the organizational life and social activities of party members who have left their jobs to rest, who have retired or who have quit working, arrangements should be made in consideration of their physical conditions to avoid frequent appearance and heavy responsibility.

145. How do party members take part in organizational life if they are out of town for a long period of time?

Answer: Strengthening the control over party members and paying attention to organizing party members to take part in the organizational life of the party are an important task of grassroots party organizations. For party members who are out of town over prolonged periods of time, party organizations should adopt various measures to help solve their problems in participating in the organizational life.

When party members are temporarily transferred to other units to help with work or when they are sent to other units to do field work or pursue advanced education, they should present letters of reference on their party affiliation if they stay over 6 months or letters of identification of their party membership if they stay less than 6 months. They will be included in party branches or groups by the party organizations of the units where they will stay to take part in the organizational life of the party, read relevant inner-party documents and hear relevant reports. If party members leave town to carry out a time-consuming task which makes them unable to take part in the organizational life of the party, in accordance with specific situations, party branches may order them to report to party organizations on a regular basis.

When party members leave town to work as contractors or casual workers with the approval of party organizations, if they stay out over a long period of time and if their work units are far away from their original party branches, they need to present letters of identification of their party membership to the party organizations of their work units which will then organize them into temporary party branches or groups to take part in the party's organizational life.

With regard to those party members who are allowed by policies and approved by party branches to leave town to engage in industrial and sideline production, party organizations should strengthen management and education, set forth concrete demands and measures for them to take part in organizational life and constantly conduct inspection and supervision.

As for those party members who leave town without authorization or those who fail to take part in organizational life without good reason, party branches should educate them and if they do not mend their ways despite education, party branches should punish them severely according to relevant stipulations in the Party Constitution.

146. How do party members take part in the organizational life of the party if they need prolonged rest due to sickness?

Answer: Party organizations should show concern for the political as well as daily life of party members who need prolonged rest due to sickness. As for how to organize them to participate in the party's organizational life, it is necessary to adopt different solutions in light of concrete conditions.

If comrades have difficulty in taking part in the party's organizational life, party organizations should not force them to do so. Party members may be assigned to keep in touch with them, relay to them the guidelines of inner-party documents and important inner-party activities and heed their views and demands.

As for those comrades whose physical conditions permit and who personally insist on leading the organizational life of the party, arrangements should be made so they can lead organizational life and participate in a few, not too many, important inner-party activities which do not require too much time.

As for those party members who rest in places far away from their work units or need a relatively long period of rest, party organizations may write a letter of identification of party membership to introduce them to the party organizations of their convalescent units or parties concerned which will then make proper arrangements for them to take part in organizational life in accordance with different circumstances.

147. How do we handle the party membership and organizational life of mentally ill party members?

Answer: Mentally ill party members should be treated as chronic invalids and allowed to keep their party membership during their illness. However, because they cannot carry out the rights and duties of party members, it is allowed to stop temporarily their organizational life and other inner-party political activities. After they are truly recovered from illness, regular party members should promptly resume their organizational life and probationary party members should be allowed to become regular party members as scheduled after a period of examination if they are really qualified for regular party members. After recovery, those who become ill when they were placed on probation within the party should be allowed to resume the rights of regular party members after a period of examination if they have realized and corrected their mistakes. Whether to resume their rights on time as scheduled before or to wait for a certain period after their recovery is to be decided by party organizations in accordance with actual conditions.

148. How do we handle the situation when party members who failed to attend the general membership meetings of party branches for certain reasons have different opinions on the issues which have been discussed and resolved at the meetings?

Answer: When party branches convene general membership meetings to discuss and resolve issues, especially issues concerning election, recruitment of new party members and decisions on disciplinary measures against party members who violated discipline, they should try to make all party members attend the meetings. If individual or very few party members are really unable to attend the meeting for certain reasons, party branch secretaries or committee members should talk to them privately before the meeting to hear their opinions on the issues to be discussed and resolved at the meeting, report their opinions to the meeting and relay the resolutions of the meeting to them after the meeting. If they have different opinions on the resolutions, they can bring them up. If party branch committees think their opinions are correct or basically correct, their opinions will be discussed at the next general membership meeting of party branch or be reported to higher party organizations. If party branch committees think their opinions are incorrect or not worth recommending, clear explanation must be given to those comrades who have such opinions. Whether or not their opinions are correct, comrades with different opinions must implement the resolutions adopted at the general membership meetings or party branches before they are changed. They must not show any sign of disagreement in deeds; however, they are allowed to report their opinions to higher level party organizations.

149. Can members of party branch committees continue to express their personal opinions at the general membership meetings of party branches after their opinions are voted down at the meetings of party branch committees?

Answer: While discussing issues at the meetings of party branch committees, members of party branch committees should develop democracy, feel free to speak and strive to unify their views on the issues to be resolved at the meetings through full discussion. However, if identical views cannot be reached after discussion, those party branch committee members whose personal opinions were voted down should resolutely carry out the resolutions adopted at the meetings of party branch committees in accordance with the principle of the minority submitting to the majority. However, at the general membership meetings of party branches, while discussing the same issues resolved at the meetings of party branch committees, those party branch committee members whose personal opinions were voted down can continue to express their original opinions if they think it is necessary. If these members do not speak for themselves, party branch committees may introduce different opinions brought up during the discussion at the meetings of party branch committees if they think it is really necessary. This is because being a leading organ of the party branch, the general membership meeting of the party branch can approve or disapprove the resolutions or views adopted at the meeting of the party branch committee. Allowing those party branch committee members whose personal opinions were voted down at the meetings of party branch committees to express their diverse opinions at the general membership meetings of party branches can enable the participants at such meetings to hear all kinds of different opinions and make careful and proper decisions after considering these opinions.

However, after their personal opinions are voted down at the meetings of party branch committees or the general membership meetings of party branches, party branch committee members must not wilfully express any opinions at the meetings of party groups and among the masses inside and outside the party that would contravene the resolutions adopted at the meetings of party branch committees and the general membership meetings of party branches. Still less should they wilfully talk about how the discussions were carried out at the meetings of party branch committees and the general membership meetings of party branches or spread complaints about the resolutions adopted at these meetings. If they do, their conduct will be considered as denying organization and discipline.

150. What is the different between allowing party members to "have reservations" and "persist in mistakes"?

Answer: Allowing party members to "have reservations" and "persist in mistakes" are different in principle and should not be mixed up.

In order to give full play to inner-party democracy and perfect inner-party democratic life, party organizations should allow party members to express their views on the party's resolutions, policies and work at party meetings. The Party Constitution stipulates: "If party members have different opinions on the party's resolutions and policies, on the condition that they will

resolutely implement them, they can declare they have reservations and report their own opinions to higher party organizations, as high as to the CPC Central Committee, " and "When party organizations discuss and decide on the party's disciplinary actions against certain party member or make an appraisal of his case, this party member has the right to defend himself and other party members can testify or plead for him." According to the above stipulations, if party members have different opinions on the appraisal or decision on punishment made by party organizations, they may declare that they have reservations. This is a legitimate right of party members stipulated in the Party Constitution. Party members having reservations should not be mistaken for persisting in mistakes.

It is necessary to understand that individual party members submit to party organizations, minority submit to majority, lower organizations submit to higher organizations and all party organizations and all party members submit to the National CPC Congress and the CPC Central Committee--this is a basic principle of the party's democratic centralism which must be strictly observed by all party members and organizations. Those party members whose opinions have been voted down must support the resolutions of the majority. Except for bringing up their opinions at the next meeting if necessary, they must not show any sign of objection in deeds. They must not be allowed to have reservations unless they would carry out the party's resolutions without conditions. If practice proves that their opinions are incorrect, they should accept the help of party members and organizations with an open mind and give up their incorrect views. They should not use "having reservations" as an excuse to persist in erroneous ideas or even go in for liberalism to harm the party's centralization and unity.

The so-called "persisting in mistakes" means that some party members who have committed mistakes refuse to admit and correct mistakes or even continue to make mistakes despite help, criticism and education conducted by party organizations and comrades. This is not allowed by party discipline. Party organizations should criticize and educate those people who have committed mistakes but persist in and refuse to correct their mistakes. Disciplinary actions should be taken against those whose cases are serious.

151. Why do we advocate that party members call each other comrades instead of their titles?

Answer: Advocating that party members call each other comrades instead of their titles is a good party tradition. It was as early as 1959 when Comrade Mao Zedong first suggested that everybody call each other comrade to change the old habit of addressing each other by the title of his position. For this, the CPC Central Committee issued a circular on this very issue in December 1965. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee again reiterated Comrade Mao Zedong's consistent stand by demanding that all party members call each other comrades, not by their titles.

All party members within our party are ordinary members of the party. The relationship between party members is equal comradeship. There are only higher and lower organizations, not members, within the party. Calling each other comrades within the party can help enhance the concept of democracy

within the party, establish closer comradeship within the party and promote consolidation of unity within the party. It can help overcome the concept of feudal stratum and the "special privilege" mentality, improve the relations between the party and the masses and the relations between the cadres and the masses, preserve the party's good tradition, correct unhealthy tendencies in the party and create a sound atmosphere among the comrades in the party characterized by equality, closeness and liveliness. It can help party-member cadres in leading positions remain sober-minded, get down from their high horse, change their work style, overcome bureaucracy and maintain close ties with the masses.

All party members, especially leading cadres within the party, must actively respond to the call of the CPC Central Committee, insist on calling each other comrades within the party, be determined to get rid of the bad habit that they must call each other by their titles or otherwise they feel uncomfortable, and take the lead in establishing a new communist practice.

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Chapter 11: Membership Management

152. Why must the party in power pose higher and stricter requirements on its members?

Answer: Posing higher and stricter requirements on its members is important in strengthening the building of the party in power and possesses a great significance in preserving its character as the vanguard of the worker class, maintaining its close ties with the masses, reinforcing and improving its leadership and enhancing its fighting power.

After our party gained power, basic changes occurred in its environment and position and in the tasks confronting it. These changes are the fruits of victory won by our party after protracted arduous struggle and are great deeds worth rejoicing forever. However, we must realize that they easily cause some members to engender a feeling of pride and conceit, sever themselves from the masses, hanker after ease and comfort and seek no progress, or even follow the path of degeneration. It is incorrect to feel that the party in power is bound to degenerate, but it is also incorrect to fail to recognize the danger of degeneration of some members from corruption. If it is said that the war years constituted a severe test of the members, then the environment of peace is also a stringent test of each and every one of them. As proved by numerous facts, the majority of our party members has weathered the test. They are able to demand strictly of themselves, preserve the fine traditions of the war years, perform their duties faithfully, serve the public honestly, place others before themselves, exert themselves to the utmost, work for the people heart and soul and seek the people's interest with all their might, thereby winning the acclaim and admiration of the masses and adding luster to the party's glorious image. However, there are also some who have failed the test. They neither treasure the glorious title of a Communist Party member, nor place themselves in the correct position to the masses. Satisfied with the status quo, some people accomplish nothing, eat three square meals a day and feel no responsibility. Demoralized and dispirited, they are backward in both ideology and work. Others foster a serious egoism. Utilizing the authority granted them by the people, they use their offices for private gain, benefit personally at the expense of the public, take advantage of the state or the collective and pursue their own interest. Still others resort to all means to indulge in illegal and undisciplined activities, seriously severing themselves from the masses and damaging the party's prestige.

In view of historical experiences and actual conditions, the party in power absolutely must not lower the membership standards, nor slacken the requirements. Instead, it must pose higher and stricter requirements and, according to such requirements, educate, spur on and examine its members. It will enable the party to prevent and overcome the influence of nonproletarian ideologies of all kinds, forever preserve the purity of its ideology and style and fully develop its vanguard and exemplary role in production, work, study and social life; to maintain close ties with the masses, continuously raise its prestige among the people and mobilize, organize and lead more successfully; to correctly implement its lines, principles and policies, complete all its tasks, influence and promote the building of the spiritual civilization of the entire society by means of the advanced inner-party spiritual civilization and lead the broad masses on all fronts to initiate a new phase in the socialist modernization drive.

Each and every Communist Party member should demand strictly of himself according to the membership requirements, conscientiously perform the membership obligations, strengthen his self-cultivation, study assiduously, enhance his party quality, strictly obey law and discipline, continuously reform his world outlook, undergo new tests under new historical conditions, preserve and develop the high honor of party membership and be a Communist Party member in fact as well as in name.

153. Is there still the danger of corruption for the Communist Party members? How should it be prevented?

Answer: As pointed out in the general program of the Party Constitution, "after the elimination of the exploiting class as a class, most of the contradictions found in China's society are not in the nature of the class struggle, and the class struggle is no longer the main contradiction. Due to domestic factors and international influence, the class struggle will, within a certain sphere, remain for a long time to come and may possibly aggravate under certain conditions." Such class struggle is mainly manifested as follows: It is impossible to purge completely within a short time the ideological influence and remnant elements of the exploiting class; the great cause of the unification of our motherland has not been achieved, the bourgeoisie and its members are influencing our state and society everyday and every hour, the counterrevolutionaries and the various evildoers are resorting to all hostile means in their sabotage activities and it is impossible to block the reemergence of some exploiters at the present phase; China is in a complex international environment, the capitalist influence and certain forces hostile to our socialist cause are constantly promoting disruptive activities against us and the capitalist ideology and the bourgeois living pattern are still exerting a corruptive effect which cannot be ignored. Instead of living in a vacuum, Communist Party members live in a society where the class struggle is still waged. Therefore, under the new historical conditions, the danger of corruption still exists for the Communist Party members. In fact, some weak-minded party members, including certain leading cadres, have been fairly seriously corrupted. Influenced by the exploiting class ideology and tempted by the bourgeois living pattern, they smuggle and sell contraband, accept bribes, speculate and defraud, become degenerate and

commit serious economic crimes. Under such conditions, we must maintain a high degree of vigilance.

Protecting the Communist Party members from corruption by the exploiting class ideology and the bourgeois living pattern is a major issue in strengthening party building under the new historical conditions as well as an important task in achieving the basic improvement of the party style. The party organizations of the various levels must adopt effective measures to overcome and prevent corruption, firmly eliminate the corruptive influence of the poisonous elements and vigorously preserve the communist ideological purity required of the party members.

(1) We must strengthen the education of the party members in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the party's lines, principles and policies and in the communist ideology and guide them to earnestly reform their world outlook, strengthen their communist faith, develop their revolutionary spirit, enhance their resistance against corruption, overcome all kinds of non-proletarian ideologies by means of the proletarian ideology, maintain and develop the party's fine styles, seek the people's interest heart and soul and dedicate their entire lives to the achievement of communism.

(2) We must be strict and impartial in enforcing party discipline and state law. On the basis of education, the corrupt party members making serious mistakes must, according to the circumstances, be promptly handled according to party discipline. Those who have committed crimes in the economic and other realms and are truly degenerate must be expelled from the party and those violating the criminal law must be prosecuted according to law.

154. What are the stricter requirements in the party constitution on the party members?

Answer: Gearing to the characteristics of the new historical period and pinpointing at the present conditions of the party members, the constitution of the 12th Party Congress poses stricter requirements on the party members in ideology, politics and organization. These requirements are mainly manifested in three aspects.

(1) The party constitution contains clear provisions on the kind of people who may apply for party membership: China's workers, peasants, intellectuals and other revolutionaries 18 years of age or older, who recognize the party's programs and rules and wish to join a party organization and actively perform work in it, implement the party's resolutions and pay membership dues on schedule, may apply for membership in the CPC. Those not possessing the above qualifications may not be admitted as members.

(2) The party constitution clearly stipulates what kind of people the Communist Party members should be: The members of the CPC are the pioneers with communist awareness in China's worker class; they must serve the people heart and soul and are willing to sacrifice everything personal and struggle all their lives for the achievement of communism.

Pinpointing at the change of the party's position after assuming power, the party constitution stresses that the Communist Party members always remain ordinary members of the laboring people. They can only perform more obligations than the nonmembers, but never consider themselves special. Except the personal rights and work functions within the sphere specified in the systems and policies, they must never seek any private interest and special privilege.

(3) The party constitution strictly stipulates the membership obligations. These obligations are the embodiment of the membership qualifications and the manifestation of the strict membership requirements. Pinpointing at the fact that the members of the party in power easily tend to pursue private gain, seek ease and comfort and utilize various situations to take advantage of the masses or the public, the party constitution clearly stipulates that the party members, among their obligations, must "regard the interests of the party and the people supreme, subordinate personal interests to those of the party and the people, be the first to bear the hardships and the last to enjoy the comforts, work selflessly for the public and absolutely refrain from benefiting the personal at the expense of the public." In view of the fact that some party members refuse to obey assignment by the organization, violate party discipline and state law, promote factionalism and are weak and disunited, the party constitution stipulates that the party members, among their obligations, must "obey the assignment of the organization," "consciously observe party discipline and state law," "firmly combat factionalism, oppose all factional organizations and clique activities," "earnestly launch criticisms and self-criticisms, courageously reveal and correct the defects and mistakes in work, support the good people and good deeds and oppose the evildoers and evil deeds," "play a pioneer and exemplary role in production, work, study and social life," "step forward bravely in moments of difficulty and danger, struggle courageously," etc. Whether a person can faithfully perform these obligations serves as the yardstick to determine whether he is a qualified party member. Though the eight obligations are fairly stringent, they can be performed by the party members. Only those fulfilling them are qualified party members and those failing to do so are unqualified.

155. What are the obligations and rights of the Communist Party members?

Answer: According to the party constitution, party members must perform the following obligations:

(1) Earnestly study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; basic knowledge of the party and its lines, principles, policies and resolutions; science, culture and vocational work.

(2) Regard the interests of the party and the people supreme, subordinate personal interest to those of the party and the people, be the first to bear the hardships and the last to enjoy the comforts, work selflessly for the public and absolutely refrain from benefiting oneself at the expense of the public.

(3) Indomitably implement the party's decisions, obey the assignment of the organization, actively complete the party's tasks, consciously observe

party discipline and state law, strictly guard party and state secrets and staunchly defend party and state interests.

(4) Uphold the party's unity, firmly combat factionalism, oppose all factional organizations and clique activities and refrain from open compliance and private resistance and all schemes and intrigues.

(5) Be loyal and honest toward the party, be consistent in words and deeds, be open in political views and refrain from distorting facts and truths; earnestly launch criticisms and self-criticisms, courageously reveal and correct the defects and mistakes in work, support the good people and good deeds and oppose the evildoers and evil deeds.

(6) Closely associate with the masses, propagate the party's stands, consult the masses on everything, humbly listen to their opinions and demands and promptly relay them to the party, help them raise their awareness and uphold their legitimate rights and interests.

(7) Play a pioneer and exemplary role in production, work, study and social life, take the lead in maintaining social order, develop the new practices of socialism and promote the communist ethics.

(8) Step forward bravely in moments of difficulty and danger in defense of the interests of the motherland and the people, struggle courageously and bring forth the spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death.

The above eight obligations are the concrete standards of a qualified Communist Party member. Their faithful performance is the proper responsibility of a party member toward the party and his action norm. They have a binding force on all party members. Only those faithfully performing them are qualified party members; those unwilling to perform them do not deserve to be party members. It is linked with the important issue of whether the party's character as the vanguard of the worker class can be preserved and whether its fighting power can be raised. The party organizations of the various levels must educate and supervise the party members in the earnest performance of their obligations and in the development of their pioneer and exemplary roles.

The provisions in the party constitution on the rights of members are as follows:

(1) Take part in the relevant party meeting, read the relevant party documents and receive the party's cultivation and training.

(2) Take part in discussions on the party's policy issues at party meetings and in party newspapers and publications.

(3) Make suggestions and proposals on the party's work.

(4) Criticize with good grounds at party meetings any organization or member, responsibly expose and denounce the illegal and undisciplined acts

of any organization or member and demand the prosecution of members violating law and discipline and the dismissal or replacement of incompetent cadres.

(5) Exercise the rights to vote on decisions, elect and be elected.

(6) When the party organization discusses and decides on disciplinary actions against a party member or makes an appraisal, the person concerned has the right to appear and defend himself; other party members may bear witness and argue on his behalf.

(7) In case of dissent from the party's resolutions and policies, under the premise of firmly implementing them, the dissenter may declare his reservations, and he may submit his view to the higher and central party organizations.

(8) Submit requests, appeals and accusations to the higher and central party organizations and demand responsible answers from the organizations concerned.

The rights of the party members discussed above are the party's basic law, clearly stipulated in its constitution and protected by its regulations and laws. No organization or individual has the authority to deprive the party members of their rights, which must be earnestly safeguarded. The party members must correctly exercise their rights and refrain from their abuse and from disorganized and undisciplined conduct and illegal and disruptive acts.

156. Why must party members pay dues on schedule? How are the standards of dues determined?

Answer: Paying dues on schedule is a rudimentary membership requirement, a mandatory obligation toward the party and a concrete embodiment of concern for the party's cause. Not just rendering financial support to the party, but paying dues enhances the party members' organizational concept. Therefore, the party organizations of the various levels must educate the party members and make them understand the significance of membership dues and consciously make payments on schedule.

The standards of dues are as follows:

(1) All party members with fixed wage income pay dues in proportion to their wages: 0.5 percent on monthly wages of 100 yuan or less; 1 percent on monthly wages between 101 and 200 yuan; 1.5 percent on monthly wages between 201 and 300 yuan; 2 percent on monthly wages between 301 and 500 yuan; 3 percent on monthly wages of more than 500 yuan. Other than dues in proportion to monthly wages, no due is levied on incomes of a temporary nature, such as subsidies, allowances, author's remunerations, bonuses, bank interests, etc., but there are no restrictions on voluntary contributions. Voluntary contributions of more than 1,000 yuan at one time should be turned over to the central government in full.

(2) Party members who are PLA soldiers under the system of payment in kind, students of colleges and middle schools, housewives and those relying on pensions and reliefs pay a monthly due of .05 yuan.

(3) Party members in agriculture, livestock and fishery pay a monthly due of .05 yuan.

Those who are unable to pay may have their dues reduced or exempted after discussion at the party branch general meeting.

157. Do retired cadres receiving allowances for living expenses have to pay membership dues?

Answer: According to the provisions of the State Council, retired cadres who joined revolutionary work prior to the conclusion of the war against Japan on 3 September 1945 are issued annually an additional 1, 1 1/2 or 2 months of their standard wages before retirement. These additional pays belong in the category of living allowances, free from membership levy. The party organizations should, however, make no restrictions on voluntary contributions.

158. When does a new member begin to pay dues?

Answer: A new member should pay membership dues beginning in the month when the higher level party committee approves him as a probationary member. During the probationary period, a new member who is a member of the CYL pays only league dues, not party dues. Upon the conclusion of the probationary period when he is approved as a regular member, he pays only party dues, not league dues.

159. How are membership dues managed? What is the sphere of their use?

Answer: To strengthen the management of membership dues, the departments in charge should create strict management systems, with special persons in charge, special accounts and scheduled collection and publication, and make scheduled reports to membership meetings or party congresses of the same level on the conditions of collection and use. No one may borrow, seize or misuse the dues collected. The collections should be promptly deposited in banks and custody of relatively large sums of cash by individuals is strictly prohibited.

The sphere of use of membership dues is as follows: (1) supplementary expenses for party members' education and training; (2) expenses for materials for their daily political theory and vocational studies and for subscriptions to reading materials; (3) a part of the expenses for activities commending "advanced party branches" and "exemplary Communist Party members;" (4) expenses for appropriate reliefs and subsidies to party members who have lost their ability to work and who encounter special difficulties.

Expenses belonging in the above sphere may only be disbursed after discussion and consent by the party committee of the same level as the unit requesting fund and upon signature by the responsible person of the committee. No disbursement may be made for expenses beyond the sphere discussed above.

160. What party organizations may transfer the party members' membership credentials in the national sphere?

Answer: The party organizations which may directly transfer membership credentials in the national sphere are as follows:

- (1) The organization departments of the party committees of the county, banner and city levels and above.
- (2) The organization departments of the district party committees of Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin, the three cities under the direct jurisdiction of the central government.
- (3) The organ party committees of the various departments and commissions of the party Central Committee and the organ party committees and political departments of state organs and mass organizations of the central level.
- (4) The organization departments (offices, sections) of the political departments of the division level or its equivalent and above of the PLA.
- (5) In the railway system, the political departments of the railway bureaus of Qiqihar, Harbin, Jilin, Shenyang, Jinzhou, Beijing, Huhhot, Xian, Zhengzhou, Taiyuan, Jinan, Lanzhou, Urumqi, Shanghai, Nanchang, Liuzhou, Guangzhou, Chengdu, Kunming and Wuhan.
- (6) In the civil aviation system, the organization department of the political department of the China Aviation General Administration and the party committees of its direct subordinate organs.

Moreover, in consideration of the practical conditions of the civil aviation system, units authorized by the Central Organization Department to transfer membership credentials in the national sphere may make such transfers to the Shanghai, Guangzhou, Chengdu, Lanzhou and Shenyang administrative bureaus of the civil aviation system, civil aviation training schools, flight training schools, the first and second civil aviation general flight teams and the civil aviation administrative bureaus of the various provinces, cities and autonomous regions. Transfers of membership credentials by the above civil aviation units to outside units should be sent by the organization departments of the party committees of the provinces, cities and autonomous regions where they are located; transfers by the Sichuan provincial civil aviation administrative bureau (located in Chongqing) should be forwarded by the organization department of the Chongqing municipal party committee.

161. How are the membership credentials of foreign aid personnel transferred?

Answer: The membership credentials of foreign aid personnel are transferred under the unified management of the transferring units. Those belonging to central and state organs are handled by the departments and commissions and those belonging to local organs by the provinces, cities and autonomous regions. The letter of introduction on a party member's credentials must clearly indicate his actual destination and assignment. Those of central and state organs are handled by the organ committees or political departments

of the ministries and commissions; those of the PLA are handled by the General Political Department; those of localities are handled by the organization departments of the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional party committees. All transfers are then forwarded to the political department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which, in turn, forwards them to the party committees of China's diplomatic missions stationed abroad.

When a party member returns home after completing his foreign assignment, his membership credentials are returned by the party committee of the diplomatic mission to the political department of the Foreign Affairs Ministry which, in turn, forwards it to the party organization of the person's original or new work unit.

162. When the wives of retiring army cadres move with the retirees to out-of-town army cadres' rest homes, how are their membership credentials transferred?

Answer: As considered and decided by the Central Organization Department and the General Political Department, when the wives of retiring army cadres move, upon approval, with the retirees to out-of-town rest homes, their membership credentials are transferred to the party organizations of the rest homes. Such transfers should follow the same procedure as formulated by the Central Organization Department on the direct mutual transfer of membership credentials between the organization departments of party committees of the county level and above and the organization departments of the political organs of the division level and above.

163. Should the period of validity be indicated in the letter of introduction or transfer of membership credentials? Should a seal across the edges be affixed?

Answer: Transfer of membership credentials is a solemn matter. The letter of introduction on membership credentials is a certification of the political status of the bearer. To strengthen membership management, avoid mistakes in the course of transfer and prevent evildoers from taking advantage of loopholes or forging letters of introduction, the organization departments should indicate the period of validity in the letters and place a seal of the party organization across the connecting line between the original and the file copy of the letter. The period of validity may be determined according to actual circumstances and should, as a rule, be limited to 3 months.

164. How should the loss of a letter of introduction be handled?

Answer: When transferring membership credentials, the party organization should teach the person concerned to take good care of the letter of introduction. Where a letter is lost, the bearer must immediately report to the party organization (the party committee of his unit or the one which last handled the transfer procedure). If it is found that the loss was truly due to the carelessness of the bearer, a replacement may be issued by the party organization which last handled the transfer procedure. To prevent evildoers

from assuming the names of others, the unit issuing the replacement should immediately notify in writing the party organization of the receiving unit and invalidate the original letter. Upon receipt of the credentials, the party organization of the receiving unit should earnestly scrutinize and check the letter of introduction. It should conduct a critical education of the party member concerned and, where the circumstances are serious, causing a loss to the party, enforce disciplinary measures.

165. Where a party member goes abroad or to Hong Kong and Macao on personal business and fails to return before the end of his leave, how should his party membership be handled? Or, if he returns after the end of his leave, how should it be handled?

Answer: Where a party member goes abroad or to Hong Kong and Macao on personal business and fails to return before the end of his leave, no action is taken on his party membership for the time being and his file and membership credentials are transferred to the organization department of the party committee of the county level or its equivalent for safekeeping and future reference.

Where a party member returns after the expiration of his leave, his membership is handled according to the following principles:

- (1) The person concerned must explain his reasons to the party organization. If the reasons are found legitimate upon investigation and there is no problem involved, he may resume his organizational life.
- (2) Where a person returns around 6 months beyond his leave without adequate grounds or makes mistakes of general nature, he should be given appropriate critical education according to the actual circumstances and, when necessary, appropriate punishment. When he realizes his errors, he may resume his organizational life.
- (3) Where a person returns 1 year or longer beyond his leave without adequate grounds, he may not, as a rule, resume his organizational life, and he should withdraw from the party. If grave problems are discovered and verified upon investigation, solemn measures are required and, in some cases, expulsion from the party.

166. What situations are considered as voluntary withdrawal from the party? How should those who withdraw be handled?

Answer: According to the party constitution, "if a party member, without proper grounds, fails to participate in the party's organizational life, pay membership dues or perform his assignment for 6 consecutive months, it is considered a voluntary withdrawal. The general meeting of his party branch should decide to remove his name from the rolls and report to the higher party organization for approval." In other words, where a party member, without proper grounds, finds himself in any one of the three situations listed above for 6 consecutive months, he is considered as having voluntarily withdrawn from the party. Before submitting the case to the general meeting for consideration, the party branch committee must

earnestly investigate and study the matter, verify whether the person concerned has failed to participate in organizational life, pay membership dues or perform his assignment for 6 consecutive months and clarify the reasons before reporting truthfully to the general meeting. When the general meeting holds a discussion, the person concerned should be notified and given the chance to appear and defend himself. If he is unable to attend because of being away over a protracted time, or if he refuses to attend, the general meeting may proceed to discuss and decide. If the general meeting, after consideration, finds that the case is indeed a voluntary withdrawal, it should decide to remove the person's name from the rolls and report its decision to the higher party organization for approval.

When handling the issue of voluntary withdrawal, the questions of "proper grounds" and "6 consecutive months" must be clearly determined, instead of considering all cases of failure to participate in the party's organizational life, pay membership dues or perform assignment for 6 consecutive months as voluntary withdrawals without regard to the objective factors. When the above situations are discovered, the party organization must promptly conduct a critical education and help the offender correct his mistakes, instead of waiting for 6 months before attention and handling. If the offender refuses to accept education and persists in his mistakes, he should be handled according to the provisions in the party constitution.

167. How should the freedom to withdraw from the party be correctly interpreted? How are withdrawals handled?

Answer: Only after establishing the Marxist world outlook and the idea of dedicating his whole life to the communist cause and possessing all the requirements of a Communist Party member as provided in the party constitution will a person applying for membership by his free will be admitted to the party. If a party member changes his belief or has other reasons of various kinds and no longer wishes to remain in the party, he has the freedom to withdraw. It is because, if a party member loses his confidence in the communist cause and becomes unwilling to struggle for it to the final end, if he becomes negative and backward, suffers seriously from the bourgeois ideology, loses his revolutionary determination, or even degenerates, if he is bewildered and vacillates in face of major political struggles and loses his confidence in the party, or if, due to the malignant inflation of egoism, he becomes unwilling to accept the restrictions of the party's supervision and discipline and requests withdrawal from the party, we should consent to his withdrawal without the least hesitation. It is compatible with the provision in the party constitution on the freedom of withdrawal from membership.

Where a party member requests withdrawal from membership, the general meetings of the party branch, after discussion, should declare the removal of his name from the rolls and report to the higher party committee for the record; no procedure of examination and approval is necessary.

After a person withdraws from the party, the party organization should, instead of taking an attitude of indifference or rejecting and discriminating

against him, continue to render him political help and encourage him to serve socialist construction. The party organization should assimilate an experimental lesson and earnestly strengthen its education and management of its members.

168. What kind of party members should be advised to leave the party? What are the procedures to be followed?

Answer: According to the provisions in the party constitution, where a party member lacks revolutionary determination, fails to perform membership obligations, fails to conform to the membership requirements and shows no improvement after repeated education, he should be advised to withdraw from the party.

A solemn and earnest attitude must be adopted when making the decision to advise withdrawal. We must make an overall historical analysis to clarify the reasons, the possibility of improvement and the presence of circumstances calling for withdrawal from the party as provided in the party constitution before making a decision by seeking the truth from the facts, so that the person concerned is convinced in words and in mind, without hurt feelings. In regard to old party members who made good manifestations consistently in the past, but have, due to age and infirmity, reduced their party activities or who, due to excessive family burdens, find it difficult to actively participate in party activities for a period, we should not summarily consider them as lacking in revolutionary determination and failing to perform membership obligations and advise their withdrawal from the party. Instead, we should make concrete analyses and handle the cases on their own merits.

The decision to advise withdrawal from the party must be first discussed at the general meeting of the party branch and approved by the higher level party organization. When a case is submitted to the general meeting for discussion, if the person concerned expresses his sincere desire to make amends, he may be given the chance to do so within a time limit. At the end of the period, the general meeting will discuss and decide whether it is necessary to advise his withdrawal. In regard to those who are unwilling to withdraw from membership yet have no determination to make amends, the general meeting will, on the basis of proper ideological work, discuss and decide on advising their withdrawal for approval by the higher party organization.

169. What is the distinction between party membership and party standing? How is party standing computed?

Answer: Party membership refers to membership qualifications. In other words, when a person is admitted to the party, he is considered as having acquired membership. Probationary members also have membership. Party standing indicates the years after a person has been formally admitted as a member. Thus, there is a distinction between the two and they must not be lumped together.

The party standing of a member should be computed from the day when he is admitted to regular membership upon completion of his probationary period.

Where the probationary period has been extended, party standing is computed from the time when the extended period has ended and admission to regular membership is granted.

In regard to the computation of the party standing of those comrades who, for various reasons, have lost their party membership for an interval, they should be handled according to the different conditions. Where party membership during the interval in question is reinstated by decision of the party organization, party standing should be computed from the original day of approval as a regular member upon completion of the probationary period. In case of a person rejoining the party without undergoing a probationary period under the provisions of relevant documents, his party standing is computed from the day when the higher level party committee makes the decision for him to rejoin the party.

170. How are appraisals of party members made? When a member disagrees with the appraisal of the party organization, how is it handled?

Answer: Party member appraisals are an effective means to strengthen their education and supervision and inspect their conditions. When performing his work, there must first be ideological mobilization, explaining the significance and purpose of appraisals and the problems calling for attention, in order to eliminate apprehensions, improve understanding and rectify attitude. Thereafter, with the party group as the unit, the member concerned makes an objective and overall self-appraisal, which is evaluated by other members, affirming the strong points and pointing out the shortcomings and the direction of endeavor. On the basis of the group appraisal, the branch party committee, after discussion, makes a formal organizational appraisal. The organizational appraisal must be practical, realistic and appropriate, and shown to the member concerned.

Where a party member disagrees with the organizational appraisal, he may express his objections. If his objections are correct, the party organization should accept them. If they are incorrect, the party organization should make patient and persuasive explanations. If the member concerned insists on his own views, he may keep his reservations or submit them to the higher level.

171. Why are CPC members not permitted to believe in religions?

Answer: According to the relevant provisions of the [national] constitution, citizens have the freedom of religious beliefs. However, Communist Party members are different from ordinary citizens. They are the vanguard soldiers of the worker class and Marxists, and Marxists should be atheists, not theists. Their world outlook should be dialectical materialistic and historical materialistic, not idealistic. Therefore, our party has clearly stipulated time and again that Communist Party members may not believe in religions or participate in religious activities. Those refusing to change must be advised to withdraw from the party. This stipulation is completely correct and should be firmly enforced.

When enforcing this stipulation, consideration must be given to the special conditions of compact minority areas. Among the minority party members, though faithfully following the party's lines, principles and policies, actively working for the party and obeying its discipline, a considerable portion of them is still unable to completely cast off the influence of religion. Even if the minority party members living in the basic level have themselves cast off their religious beliefs, should they refuse to take part in activities with a certain religious flavor, they will isolate themselves, making it unfavorable to their mass work. In compact minority areas, the religious issue is often intertwined with the nationality issue. Therefore, when handling the issue of minority party members' religious beliefs or activities, we must, in the spirit of preserving the progressiveness of party members and giving consideration to their close association with the masses, patiently and painstakingly perform ideological education and deal with each case according to the concrete circumstances, instead of taking summary actions.

172. May party members rent their houses out?

Answer: In regard to the issue of party members renting their houses out, we must make concrete analyses. Under the present housing shortage, it is permissible for party members to rent out their spare private dwellings and collect a certain amount of rent (equivalent to or slightly higher than the standard rent of the local public housing) as maintenance and repair expenses. It should not be regarded as exploitative.

However, party members must not violate the relevant provisions of the state and charge high rentals. They may not utilize their offices to sublet or to rent public housing at a low rental and sublet it at a higher figure. Party members owning private houses in cities and towns may not live in public housing themselves and rent their private houses out at a high rental in order to profit by the difference. They may not build private houses by illegal means in order to rent them out for profit. They may not perform exploitative and illegal acts by renting their houses out. In regard to those who commit violations, the party organization should conduct a critical education and, where the circumstances are serious, take disciplinary measures.

Chapter 12: Membership Recruitment

173. Why is membership recruitment a task of a regular nature in party building?

Answer: To guarantee the achievement of the general task of the new period, we must strengthen party building in the ideological, organizational and style aspects and turn our party truly into a firm core leading the socialist modernization cause. One important task in party building is to continuously develop and reinforce the party ranks, constantly assimilate new blood and, in the course of the new replacing the old, maintain the party's vitality and vigor and raise its fighting power.

The emergence of new forces is continuous and the party's need of them is also continuous. It is the objective law of the development of things. The work of membership recruitment must be geared to the demands of this law and made into a regular task, neither crash drives, nor long pauses in between. We should constantly recruit the advanced elements truly satisfying the membership requirements into the party. It is not only the need of the party's cause, but also the desire of the broad advanced elements.

To regularize membership recruitment, it must be made into a regular task of the party committees of the various levels and of their units in charge, forming plans, creating measures, inspecting and supervising, summarizing experiences, uncovering problems, solving them promptly and concentrating on it earnestly and properly. We must strengthen the training, education and investigation of active non-party elements and, under the premise of upholding the membership standards and assuring the quality, enroll them individually one by one.

174. Why must the principle of individual enrollment be followed?

Answer: According to the party constitution, the principle of individual enrollment must be followed in membership recruitment. "Individual enrollment" refers to what is commonly understood as admitting each new member as he becomes ready. As proved by practice, only the principle of individual enrollment will truly embody the free will of the person concerned, guarantee the quality of party members and assimilate the truly qualified into the party.

To uphold the principle of individual enrollment, we must earnestly investigate and clarify the active elements applying for membership and determine whether they possess membership qualifications as provided in the party constitution. We must never resort to any means to drag the unqualified into the party, nor must we reject the truly qualified. When recruiting new members, we should complete the procedure of admission for the applicants one by one, not in groups, nor by crash drives.

175. What are the links to be focused on in membership recruitment?

Answer: To guarantee the quality of party members and maintain their progressiveness, we must focus on the following links in membership recruitment:

- (1) We must properly train, educate, investigate and clarify the active elements applying for membership and select our objectives. Basic level party organizations must earnestly and responsibly clarify the ideological awareness, political quality, actual manifestations, political history, family members and main social contacts of each applicant and, pinpointing at their conditions, adopt manifold forms to train and educate them, enabling them to acquire a basic knowledge of the party, improve their ideological and political awareness and establish a firm conviction to serve the people heart and soul and struggle for the communist cause throughout their lives.
- (2) We must uphold the membership standards. When recruiting new members, we must uphold the requirements provided in the party constitution. Regardless of the circumstances, the unqualified may not be admitted into the party. We must strictly prevent the infiltration of those who attempt to seek private gain or speculate by means of the position of the party in power.
- (3) We must strictly follow the procedure of examination and approval when admitting new members. Applications to join the party must, in accordance with the provisions of the party constitution, come from the free will of the individuals, and the admission procedure must be followed for each individual. Before discussion at the general meeting of the party branch, we must give attention to mass opinions inside and outside the party and investigate carefully before submitting the requests of the qualified to the general meeting. After discussion, decisions are made by a show of hands. Before considering an applicant, the higher level party organization must send someone to interview him, further educating and examining him. If he is found qualified, the party organization will hold a collective discussion and examination. Approvals may not be granted by individuals or a few people.
- (4) We must properly perform the work of educating and investigating the probationary members and of admitting them to regular membership. Whether a probationer can be admitted to regular membership at the end of his probationary period must hinge on his performance of membership obligations and his conformity to membership requirements, and there must be no lowering of the standards. We must guard against and correct the wrong practices of ignoring education and investigation at ordinary times and hastily admitting a person to regular membership at the last minute or arbitrarily annulling his probationary membership.

(5) We must firmly rectify all unhealthy trends in membership recruitment. Party organizations and leading cadres may not utilize their offices to launch crash drives, recruit by coercion or admit their relatives and friends who are unqualified; they may not use admission to membership as the means of illegitimate bargains. All party members admitted in violation of the provisions of the party constitution will not be approved or recognized, and the personnel concerned whose circumstances are serious will be earnestly handled.

176. Why must the admission procedure be strictly fulfilled? How is it fulfilled?

Answer: When admitting new members, we must, in accordance with the provisions of the party constitution, strictly fulfill the admission procedure. The purpose is to guarantee the admission of truly qualified advanced elements to the party and preserve the party's worker class progressiveness.

The admission procedure is not a simple matter of a technical nature, but a solemn political task and a political education and organizational investigation of the recruit. Therefore, when fulfilling the admission procedure, we must act according to the relevant provisions of the party constitution.

(1) A person desiring to join the party must submit a request to the party organization. The request is usually in writing, but may also be oral.

(2) When the party organization is ready to consider him, he must complete an application. The application is the main basis for the party organization's investigation of the applicant. When completing the application, the applicant must be solemn and earnest, sincere and honest, without misrepresentation or concealment.

(3) An applicant must be sponsored by two regular members. He may ask party members familiar with himself to act as sponsors, or the party organization may recommend members to do so. The sponsors must clarify the conditions of the applicant in detail and note their opinions on the application. At the general meeting of the party branch, the sponsors should report their findings of the applicant.

(4) The admission of a new member must be discussed and resolved at the general meeting of the party branch. Before the general meeting, the party branch committee must conscientiously scrutinize the application, earnestly clarify the applicant's ideological awareness, political quality, work manifestations, motive for joining, historical background, family members and main social contacts, determine whether his sponsors are qualified to serve as such and give attention to mass opinions inside and outside the party. If the party branch committee, after performing such work, finds that the application may be submitted to the general meeting for discussion, it will hold a general meeting. The general meeting must notify the applicant to appear. After discussion and voting, the general meeting makes a resolution, which is entered in the application, and the application is promptly submitted to the higher party committee for consideration.

(5) Upon receipt of an application, the higher party organization must hold a committee meeting for collective discussion and examination. Prior to such examination, the committee must send a special person to interview the applicant, observe him in a conscientious and responsible manner and earnestly check his application, the opinions of the sponsors and the resolution of the party branch.

(6) After an applicant is approved as a probationary member, he must face the flag and take the oath of admission.

177. Why must a person desiring to join the party make a request in writing? How is it written?

Answer: Every person wishing to join the party must submit a request to the party organization. The purpose is to indicate to the party organization his desire to join the party, enable the party organization to understand his convictions and aspirations and facilitate its conscious examination, education and training of the applicant.

The request is usually in writing. It should mainly include the following: The applicant's personal history, main members in his family and his main social contacts; his understanding of the party, motive for joining and attitude toward it; etc. All historical political problems and all awards and punishments, if any, must be clearly listed.

178. How are the sponsors selected? What are their responsibilities?

Answer: Regular members who have all along been responsible for the applicant's training usually serve as sponsors. They may be asked by the applicant himself or recommended by the party organization.

When a sponsor recommends a comrade for membership, he has an important responsibility toward the party and the applicant. Generally speaking, he has the following responsibilities:

(1) A sponsor should earnestly understand and clarify the applicant's knowledge of the party, motive for joining, political history, ideological quality, actual manifestations, family members and close social contacts and make a truthful and responsible report to the party organization. He must not take a casual attitude or deliberately control or distort the facts.

(2) He must converse regularly with the applicant, educate him on party programs, the party constitution and basic knowledge of the party and help him improve his understanding of the party and straighten his motive for joining.

(3) He must make scheduled reports to the party organization on the applicant's training, education and observation.

(4) He must guide the applicant to complete the application, conscientiously enter his opinions in the application and report relevant details on the applicant at the general meeting of the party branch.

(5) After the applicant is approved as a probationary member, he must continue to educate him and help him overcome his defects, improve his awareness and strive for admission to regular membership on schedule by his exemplary conduct.

179. Is there a political investigation of the applicant? What is its sphere and substance?

Answer: A political investigation of the applicant is required, in order to give the party organization an overall picture of the applicant and enable it to clarify the applicant's political history and manifestations. It is extremely necessary for guaranteeing the quality of members and purifying the party ranks.

The substance of the political investigation mainly covers the applicant's political history, his immediate family and main social contacts; his attitude on the party's lines, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee; his manifestations in the several important stages of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

The investigation of the applicant's immediate family and main social contacts is mainly for the purpose of clarifying the political outlooks, current occupations and political manifestations of his parents and relatives who brought him up and his close social contacts and their relations with him. It is not necessary to investigate relatives who are not of his immediate family and who have little or no contact with him and no significant influence on him.

180. How is the application to join the party completed?

Answer: As the application to join the party constitutes the main basis of the party organization's investigation, it must be completed carefully and earnestly.

(1) Before completing the application, the responsible person of the party branch should conduct a sincere and honest education of the applicant and explain to him clearly the questions and the contents. The applicant must answer the questions carefully and conscientiously, without concealment or misrepresentation. He should use a pen or brush and write clearly.

(2) In regard to the column on "desire to join the party," the applicant must, on the basis of his own ideological understanding and changes, stress his understanding of the party, his reasons for joining and his determination.

(3) In regard to the column on "personal history," he must truthfully complete it in detail and list witnesses for his important experiences.

(4) The column on "main members of the family" should include the applicant's parents (or fosterers), spouse and children, and those who have been living with him over an extended period of time.

(5) The column on "main social contacts" should include close relatives and friends who have exerted a fairly significant influence over him.

(6) The column on "other problems which need to be explained to the party" mainly includes problems which should be explained to the party but which do not fit into any other column.

(7) For questions where there is no entry, the word "none" should be written.

181. How should the occupation of the sponsor in the application be completed? What if a sponsor has no occupation?

Answer: The "present occupation" of the sponsor should include his present jobs inside and outside the party. Where a sponsor has several jobs, the main ones may be entered. Where a sponsor has no job, the question does not need to be answered.

182. Is it necessary for the party group to discuss recruitment?

Answer: The comrades of the party group are familiar with the active elements of their unit and directly responsible for their education and training. Therefore, before discussing a prospect at the general meeting of the party branch, the party group may exchange views first and propose preliminary opinions prior to discussions at the committee and general meeting of the party branch. Nevertheless, it must be noted that discussion by the party group is not a necessary part of the procedure for recruitment and cannot be regarded as a basis to determine whether the admission procedure is complete.

183. When the general meeting of the party branch discusses the recruitment of an applicant or the admission of a probationer to regular membership, is it necessary for the person concerned and the sponsors to participate?

Answer: When the general meeting discusses an applicant, the latter and his sponsors must be present. If the applicant is unable to attend for some reason, the meeting should be postponed. As a rule, both sponsors should appear, but in case of special circumstances where one of them is unable to attend but has made a responsible report to the party branch, the meeting may proceed.

Why must the applicant and his sponsors attend the meeting? Because at the general meeting the applicant must sincerely and honestly state his personal history, family and social contacts, explain his understanding of the party and his motive for joining and express his free will to join, his determination to become a Communist Party member and his acceptance of the investigation and help of the general meeting. His sponsors must earnestly and responsibly report on his conditions, the course of his training and education and their opinions and attitudes on his desirability as a member.

When the general meeting discusses the admission of a probationer to regular membership, the probationer must be present from start to finish. He must report to the meeting his political and ideological improvements during the period of probation, his present shortcomings and important issues which have not been discussed with the party organization in the past and listen to the discussions and decisions on his admission to regular membership.

184. Why must the party committee send a special person to interview an applicant before admitting him into the party? What is the main substance of the interview?

Answer: According to the party constitution, before approving the admission of an applicant, the higher party organization must send someone to interview him, in order to gain a better picture and help him improve his knowledge of the party. The main purpose is to give the higher party organization a direct understanding of the applicant, prevent errors and ensure the accuracy of investigation. It also serves the purpose of enhancing the sense of responsibility of the investigative organ and impelling it to perform the work properly. The proper performance of this task has an important significance in ensuring the political quality of the new members and maintaining the purity of the party organization.

The comrade assigned to do the interview must earnestly and responsibly perform his work. The interview should mainly focus on the applicant's knowledge of the party, his motive for joining, his familiarity with the membership obligations and rights and the degree of his awareness, thereby determining his qualifications as a member. In the course of the interview, the interviewer must purposefully educate the applicant in the basic knowledge of the party and propose demands and hopes.

185. What are the issues which the basic level party committee should focus on when considering the admission of an applicant?

Answer: Consideration of the admission of an applicant is an extremely solemn matter, calling for adherence to principles, strict checking and prompt action.

Before consideration, the party committee must send a special person to interview the applicant and make a further observation. During consideration, it must uphold the system of collective discussion and deliberation, earnestly listen to the report of the interviewer and the opinions of its organization department and earnestly and responsibly determine whether the applicant fulfills all the requirements and whether he has completed the entire procedure. If it is found that the applicant indeed fulfills all the requirements and has completed the entire procedure, approval may be granted. If it is found that certain problems have not been clarified or the procedure has not been completed, the application will be held for future discussion after the problems are clarified or the procedure completed. If the applicant is found to be unqualified, approval will not be granted. Where several applications are considered at one meeting, they must be deliberated, discussed and voted on one by one, and the practice of reading

a list of names and passing them by one voting must not be followed. After the party branch submits its findings to the higher level, the [higher] party committee should render its prompt consideration.

When completing the "opinions of the higher level party committee," it must, according to the party constitution, clearly indicate the exact day of the start of the probationary period for the approved applicant.

186. Why must a probationary member take the oath to join the party? What is the procedure?

Answer: Taking the oath to join the party is a ceremonial party education of the probationary member. It expresses the gravity and solemnity of joining the party and enables the recruit to remember his pledge throughout his lifetime and strive to fulfill it.

The procedure is as follows: "The Internationale;" opening speech; the probationer facing the party flag and taking the oath; speech by the responsible comrade of the party organization; the probationer expressing his determination to the party. Where possible, old party members may be invited to give speeches.

187. Is there a set time for a probationer to take the oath? Is it taken at the party group meeting or the general meeting of the party branch?

Answer: The oath can only be taken after the passage of the application at the general meeting of the party branch and its approval by the higher level party organization, because the resolution to accept an applicant passed by the general meeting of the party branch can only take effect upon the approval of the higher level party organization. Taking the oath to join the party is a solemn matter and has an educational significance to the applicant and other party members. Therefore, the ceremony of oath taking may, according to the practical conditions of the various units, be held at an appropriate occasion and in an appropriate sphere. We should urge the attendance of active elements and refrain from making the ceremony too long-drawn-out. It should not be held at the party group meeting.

188. Can the responsible person of a higher organization nominate a prospect for recruitment by the lower organization?

Answer: It is a violation of the party constitution for a higher party organization to nominate a prospect for the lower organization to recruit; it is impermissible. Whether a person is qualified to join the party and whether he can be accepted should be discussed and determined by the unit of the person concerned; no nomination should be made by the responsible person of a higher organization. If any responsible person of a higher party organization uses his status to ask the lower organization to accept someone into the party, the lower organization has the right of refusal.

Naturally, if the responsible person of a higher party organization, in the course of work inspections, discovers that someone has made outstanding

manifestations and possesses preliminary membership qualifications, he may make a suggestion to the lower organization to consider him a prospect. As for whether he can be accepted, it is completely up to the lower party organization. Making a suggestion to the lower party organization and nomination are two different things and should not be lumped together.

189. Can a temporary party branch recruit new members?

Answer: A temporary party branch may not recruit new members, because, as a party organization of a temporary nature created for the purpose of completing a task, it has no power to recruit new members. However, it may accept the request of an active element to join the party and, upon the conclusion of its task, report the active element's manifestations to the party organization of his unit.

190. Can a general party branch approve the admission of new members?

Answer: According to the party constitution, the admission of new members must undergo discussion at the general meeting of the party branch and be approved by the higher party organization. In terms of relations, the general party branch is above the party branch. However, the situation of the general branch is different, and whether it can approve the admission of new members should be handled according to the following situations:

Where there is no basic level party committee at the particular unit, the general party branch may not approve the admission of new members, because the leading party organ of the unit is its basic level party committee, not a general party branch. In such case, the general branch and the branch are both branch organs of the party. Therefore, the general branch may not skip the basic level party committee of the particular unit and directly approve the admission of new members. However, when the branch requests the higher party organization to consider the acceptance of a new member, the general branch committee should submit its signed opinion.

The general branches of a few independent units directly under the party committees of the county level and above and those of branch plants and branch schools directly under large plants and mines and colleges and universities, when authorized by the party committees of the county level and above, may consider the acceptance of new members. When making actual determinations on which general party branches may consider the admission of new members, the various areas must handle the matter strictly and refrain from arbitrarily granting authorizations.

191. Can a leading party group consider the admission of new members and approve actions against party members?

Answer: According to the party constitution, admitting new members or taking disciplinary actions against members must be discussed and passed at the general meeting of the party branch and reported to the basic level party committee for approval. The leading party group is not a single level party committee, and it cannot consider the admission of new members or approve

disciplinary actions against members. The admission of new members and disciplinary actions against members must follow the procedures contained in the relevant provisions of the Party Constitution.

192. After the general meeting of a party branch decides to accept a new member and changes his work post before consideration of his admission by the higher party organization, how should the procedure of his admission be handled?

Answer: After the general meeting of the party branch decides to accept a new member, the higher level party committee should give its consideration promptly. If the person concerned is transferred to another unit or area before approval of his membership, the higher level party committee should do its best to act before his transfer. If, due to certain special reasons, it is impossible to act before the transfer, the higher level party committee should give its consideration promptly after the transfer, and in no event more than 3 months later. After consideration, the result and the reasons for the delay should be relayed to the party organization of the person's new unit.

193. What kind of people can be retroactively recognized as members of the CPC? Which level of the party organization must approve such retroactive recognition?

Answer: Retroactive recognition of membership in the CPC is an extremely solemn matter and should be strictly handled. As a rule, only those who courageously sacrificed themselves for the revolution and construction, performed outstanding deeds, submitted repeated requests for membership, made consistent good manifestations and conformed to the membership requirements or individuals of an influential or educational significance in a certain sphere may be retroactively recognized as party members. Retroactive recognition must be discussed and decided at the unit party organization and approved by the party committee of the provincial level.

194. Can young people under age 25 who have not joined the league directly join the party?

Answer: The CYL is a mass organization of advanced youths under the party's leadership, a school for the broad masses of youths to learn communism in practice and the aide and reserve of the party. As a rule, youths seeking improvement should, by their practical actions, actively strive to join the CYL before joining the party. However, some youths, though not league members, indeed satisfy the membership requirements of the CPC, and the party organization may admit them into the party.

195. Can comrades who voluntarily withdrew from the party or were advised to leave the party after the founding of the nation rejoin the party? How should their party standing be computed?

Answer: When those who voluntarily withdrew from the party or were advised to leave because of their failure to satisfy the membership requirements wish to rejoin, we must clarify the circumstances and reasons for their

departures from the party. If a fairly long period of testing and the strict investigation of the party organization prove that a person has indeed realized his mistakes and fulfills the membership requirements, he may be readmitted to the party. His party standing should be computed from the day of his readmission to regular membership, and his party standing before his departure from the party is not included in the computation.

196. Can individual laborers join the party?

Answer: Individual laborers are also socialist laborers. Same as the workers of state-owned and collective enterprises, they are needed in the building of socialism. They should enjoy the same social and political positions as the workers of state-owned and collective enterprises, and the advanced elements among them who satisfy the membership requirements may be recruited into the party according to the provisions of the party constitution.

197. How should the membership requests of people with relatives and friends abroad or in Taiwan, Hong Kong or Macao be handled?

Answer: The membership requests of people with relatives and friends abroad or in Taiwan, Hong Kong or Macao should be handled in the same manner as others making the request; there should be no discrimination. If the advanced elements among them desire to join the party, the party organization should welcome their progress and actively train and educate them. According to the party constitution, all those satisfying membership requirements should be recruited into the party in good time. In regard to their personal histories, families and social contacts, we must make historical and overall analyses and the comrades wishing to join the party should truthfully reveal their conditions to the party organization. The latter should make earnest political investigations and, according to the actual conditions, analyze them concretely. The normal contacts, correspondences and remittances between them and their relatives and friends abroad or in Taiwan, Hong Kong or Macao are permitted by the party and the government and should not affect their admission to the party.

198. How should the membership requests of those whose immediate family members were killed or jailed be correctly handled?

Answer: When handling this type of cases, the party organization should follow the party's policy on the theory of class origin, not the theory of the unique importance of class origin, and on stressing political manifestations, make concrete analyses and deal with each case on its own merits. It should neither refuse their requests on ground of their family problems, without making analysis or looking at the manifestations, nor rashly grant them without earnest investigation and clarification. In regard to those comrades, if they make good manifestations consistently through a fairly long period of testing, draw a clear line of demarcation in politics and ideology with the suppressed or convicted members of their immediate families and truly satisfy the membership requirements and if, after thorough investigations, are found qualified by the party organization, they may be admitted to the party.

199. How is the work of admitting a probationer to regular membership properly performed?

Answer: The party organization concerned should immediately place a probationary member approved by the higher party organization in the party branch and party group of his unit and give him a definite assignment. By means of the organizational life and practical work, the party organization must continue to educate and observe him, promptly help him overcome his defects and encourage him to improve continuously.

At the end of the probationary period, the party branch should promptly discuss whether a probationer can be admitted to regular membership. Those who earnestly perform the obligations and satisfy the requirements should be admitted to regular membership on schedule. In regard to those who fail to satisfy all requirements, the party organization must continue to observe and educate them and extend their probationary period, but not more than a year. As for those who fail to perform the membership obligations and satisfy the membership requirements, they should have their probationary membership annulled.

To become a regular member, a probationer must first submit a request for admission to regular membership. Thereafter the party group must express its opinion, the branch party committee must make an investigation and the general meeting of the party branch must discuss and approve the request. Before discussion at the party branch, mass opinions on the probationer must be solicited. He must attend the general meeting discussing his request, report on his manifestations and main strong and weak points during the period of probation and explain the problems which should be explained to the party organization. The branch party committee should report to the general meeting the conditions of the probationer's education and observation and express its opinions and reasons for granting or refusing his request for regular membership. The general meeting must hold a full discussion, take a formal vote and make a resolution, which is entered in the probationer's request for regular membership and submitted to the higher party organization for action.

200. When does the computation of the probationary period start? Can a probationer be admitted to regular membership before the end of the period?

Answer: The probationary period of a new member is mainly for the purpose of enabling the party to make direct observations and determine whether the probationer can earnestly perform the membership obligations and truly satisfy the membership requirements. It is an important means to ensure the quality of party members. In terms of the probationer, it is a sort of test, impelling him to demand strictly of himself and build a sound foundation to become a Communist Party member in fact as well as in name.

According to the party constitution, the probationary period starts from the day the general meeting of the party branch accepts an applicant as a probationer. The probationary period for probationers accepted before the formal passage of the constitution of the 12th Party Congress is computed according to the constitutional provisions in force at the time of their acceptance, without any change.

Under general conditions, probationers should not be admitted to regular membership before the end of the probationary period. The reason is because, during the period, the party organization must make a further observation of the probationer, and the latter must undergo tempering in inner-party life and strive for his admission to regular membership on schedule. It calls for a process and a certain time interval. The party constitution stipulates 1 year as the probationary period. As proved by experience, it is a fairly appropriate interval, neither too short nor too long, for otherwise it will not serve the purpose of the probationary period.

201. Is it possible for the extension of the probationary period to be less than a year? After a 1-year extension, is it possible to extend it again for those who still fail to satisfy the membership requirements?

Answer: According to the Party Constitution, upon the expiration of the probationary period, a probationer "requiring further observation and education may have his probationary period extended, but not more than a year." The provision indicates that the extension, as a rule, should be limited to 1 year. It may be less than a year, but not less than 6 months, for otherwise it will not serve the purpose of further observation and education. For a probationer failing to fully satisfy the membership requirements, a process is needed for him to become fully qualified, and the organization also needs a certain time interval to observe this.

If a probationer still fails to satisfy all the membership requirements after a 1-year extension, his probationary membership should be annulled and no further extension should be granted.

202. In case of a new member who was accepted by the general meeting of the party branch before the 12th Party Congress but not approved by the higher party organization until after the passage of the constitution of the 12th Party Congress, when should the computation of his probationary period start? In case of one whose probationary membership was approved before the 12th Party Congress but who has not yet been admitted to regular membership, how is his probationary period computed?

Answer: The computation of the probationary period should follow the constitutional provisions in force at the time. In case of a new member who was accepted by the general meeting of the party branch before the 12th Party Congress but not approved by the higher party organization until after the passage of the constitution of the 12th Party Congress, his probationary period should start from the day of acceptance by the general meeting of the party branch. In case of a probationer who was approved before the 12th Party Congress but has not yet been admitted to regular membership, his probationary period is computed according to the constitutional provisions of the 11th Party Congress. The time of admission and the probationary period will not be changed.

Before action is taken by the higher party organization, if it is discovered that an applicant has certain problems requiring additional investigation, an earnest investigation should be made. After the problems are clarified,

the higher party organization must act accordingly. If it is not due to personal reasons (e.g., concealing history, misrepresenting facts, etc.) and if the applicant actively cooperates with the party organization in clarifying the conditions and makes consistent good manifestations in all aspects, when the higher party organization approves his admission upon the conclusion of the investigation, the computation of his probationary period will start from the day of his acceptance by the general meeting of the party branch. If the additional investigation is due to personal reasons, then after the general meeting of the party branch reconsiders his request for membership on the basis of the outcome of the additional investigation, the nature of the problems and his manifestations, the higher party organization will decide on whether he can be accepted and when the computation of his probationary period should start.

203. When a probationer is transferred to another post during the probationary period (including demobilization and discharge of military personnel), how should his admission to regular membership be handled?

Answer: If a probationer is transferred to another post during the probationary period (including demobilization and discharge of military personnel), the party organization of his original unit should be responsible for his appraisal. In case of a probationer whose probationary period has ended but who has not completed the procedure of admission to regular membership, the party organization of his original unit should give it prompt consideration. If the probationary period of a probationer has to be extended or if, due to various reasons, the procedure of admission to regular membership cannot be completed on schedule, the party organization of his original unit should when forwarding his membership credentials, brief his new unit on the reasons for the extension or the delay in admission and give its evaluation of the probationer. Where a probationer has not completed his probationary period, the party organization of his original unit should report clearly to his new unit its observations and education of the probationer, and the issue of his regular membership should be handled by the party organization of his new unit. The latter may not arbitrarily delay consideration because a probationer has not been recruited by it.

204. Can a probationer be named an exemplary member?

Answer: A probationer is in the phase of undergoing the observation of the party organization and has not acquired regular membership. A probationer making good manifestations and superior accomplishments may be commended and his achievements placed on record as a basis to determine his regular membership or to be chosen as an advanced worker or producer, but he may not be named an exemplary member. He may participate in activities to choose exemplary members and express his opinions and views in the course thereof.

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Chapter 13: Party Discipline

205. Why must we resolutely safeguard party discipline?

Answer: The Party Constitution stipulates that resolutely safeguarding party discipline is an important responsibility of every party organization and that party members must voluntarily submit to the control of party discipline.

The major reasons for our party to emphasize that party discipline must be resolutely safeguarded are as follows:

(1) Our party is a united whole organized in accordance with its own program and constitution and on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism. The entire party must live up to the principle that party members submit to party organizations, the minority submits to the majority, lower organizations submit to higher organizations and all party organizations and members submit to the National CPC Congress and the CPC Central Committee. Only by doing so can we genuinely realize the party's centralization and unity, safeguard its unity, consolidate its organization, increase its fighting capacity and bring its function of leadership into full play.

(2) Discipline is a guarantee for the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. Only by resolutely safeguarding party discipline can party organizations at all levels and comrades throughout the party become politically identical with the CPC Central Committee, resolutely carry out the party's line, principles and policies and manage to unify policies, command and action. Failing to safeguard party discipline will make it very difficult to prevent and overcome the anarchy of each going his own way in regard to issues concerning the party's line, principles and policies. It will make it impossible to stop those activities which publicly or covertly resist or oppose the party's line, principles and policies. As a result, the party's line, principles and policies will not be implemented and the exercise of the party's correct leadership will not be guaranteed.

(3) Discipline is an important condition for maintaining and developing the party's good tradition, overcoming unhealthy tendencies and maintaining close ties between the party and the masses. Practice proves that only by enforcing strict discipline can party organizations and members maintain the purity of communist ideology, resist the corrosive influence of various

decadent ideas of the exploiting class, better maintain and develop the party's good traditions such as working hard, working selflessly for the public interest, constantly sharing the comforts and hardships of the masses and wholeheartedly serving the people, achieve a fundamental turn for the better in the party's workstyle and thereby bring along a fundamental turn for the better in the common practice of the entire society.

206. What conduct is considered serious violations of party discipline?

Answer: Whether party members have committed serious violations of party discipline should be judged by the nature and seriousness of their mistakes. Generally, serious violations of party discipline are:

- (1) Undermining the unity and solidarity of the party;
- (2) Refusing to carry out the party's line, principles, policies and resolutions;
- (3) Expressing, openly or covertly, to non-party members one's views against the party's line, principles, policies, resolutions and basic political stand;
- (4) Organizing secret groups to carry out factional and conspiratorial activities within the party and participating in or supporting illegal activities outside the party;
- (5) Divulging party or state secrets;
- (6) Deliberately undermining the economic interests of the state and collectives;
- (7) Committing serious dereliction of duty which causes heavy losses to the state and the people;
- (8) Going in for moral corruption and degeneration which offends national and human dignity.
- (9) Hiding one's own or others' serious mistakes and other serious problems from the party;
- (10) Conducting activities to frame or threaten others;
- (11) Suppressing the criticism, exposure and appeals of party members and the masses and conducting retaliatory acts; and
- (12) Abusing one's power and position to seek personal gain.

If party members are involved in one or several such acts of conduct, disciplinary actions by the party should be taken against them in light of concrete conditions.

207. How many kinds of disciplinary actions are there in the party?

Answer: The Party Constitution stipulates there are five kinds of disciplinary actions in the party: 1) Warning; 2) serious warning; 3) dismissal from party duties and request of non-party organizations for dismissal from non-party duties; 4) probation within the party; and 5) expulsion from the party.

Party members should not be placed on probation for over 2 years. During the probation period, party members have no right to vote, elect or be elected. For those party members who have really corrected their mistakes during the probation, it is necessary to resume their rights as party members; for those who persist in mistakes and refuse to change, it is necessary to expel them from the party.

Expulsion from the party is the severest punishment within the party. When deciding on or approving expulsion of members from the party, party organizations at all levels should carry out comprehensive study of related information and opinions and adopt an extremely cautious attitude.

In addition, the Party Constitution also stipulates that for party organizations which have committed serious violations of party discipline and are unable to correct them on their own, in accordance with the seriousness of their cases and after verification, the party committees at the higher level should adopt a decision on whether to reorganize or dismantle them and submit the decision to the party committees at the next higher level for examination and approval before it is announced and put into effect officially.

208. What issues shall we pay attention to while enforcing discipline among party members who have violated party discipline?

Answer: According to the stipulations of the Party Constitution, resolutely safeguarding party discipline is an important responsibility of every party organization; therefore, party organizations must be held responsible for dereliction of duties in regard to safeguarding party discipline. With regard to members who have violated party discipline, party organizations should criticize, educate or take disciplinary actions against them in accordance with the nature and seriousness of their mistakes and in the spirit of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient.

In order to observe relevant stipulations in the Party Constitution correctly, we must pay attention to the following issues while enforcing party discipline:

(1) With regard to party members who have committed mistakes, it is necessary to uphold the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" to achieve the objective of clarifying ideology as well as uniting comrades. In the course of enforcing discipline, attention should be paid to ideological education; party policies should be strictly carried out; and ruthless struggles, attacks, the use of means contravening the Party Constitution and state law in treating erring party members, retaliations and false accusations should be strictly forbidden. Punishments should be appropriate and flexible. An extremely cautious

attitude should be adopted to handle cases involving expulsion from the party. Party members who have violated government discipline and state law should be punished by administrative or judicial organs in accordance with government discipline or state law. Party members who have committed serious offenses against criminal law must be expelled from the party.

(2) Stress should be laid on investigation and study and on the weight of evidence. It is necessary to first clarify the facts about the mistakes, conduct truth-seeking analysis of the subjective and objective causes as well as historical conditions for committing the mistakes, have a correct understanding of the nature and harmfulness of the mistakes and make conclusions that tally with reality. We should repeatedly verify information and mete out punishments on the basis of facts. We should not readily believe confessions. It is strictly forbidden to obtain confessions by compulsion and give them credence.

(3) When taking disciplinary actions against party members, whether they are discussed and decided by the general membership meetings of party branches or examined and approved by higher party organizations, it is necessary to place on the table the information of the facts about how party members violated discipline, allow everyone to fully express his opinion, including differing views, and adopt resolutions strictly according to the principle of the minority submitting to the majority. It is forbidden to let individuals decide on the punishment or to force through personal opinions.

(4) When party organizations discuss and decide on disciplinary actions against certain party members, they should be allowed to attend the meeting, their opinions or pleadings should be heeded carefully and other people should be allowed to plead for him. They must be allowed to see the decision on their punishments and the information of the facts on which the decision is based; if they have different opinions, they should be allowed to reserve them or appeal to higher party organizations up to the CPC Central Committee. Related party organizations must take on the responsibility to handle their appeals or transfer them quickly. It is not allowed to withhold them.

(5) If it is discovered that some cases are handled inappropriately or wrong, they must be corrected according to facts. If they are framed, fabricated or false accusations, they should be thoroughly redressed; if they are handled on the basis of unfounded evidence, the punishment should be annulled; and if the determination of their nature is inaccurate or if the punishment is improper, amendments should be made.

209. What level of party organization decides on and approves the punishment of party members?

Answer: Disciplinary actions against erring party members must be discussed and decided on at the general membership meetings of party branches and reported to grassroots party committees for approval; if involved issues are relatively important or complex, or if the punishment is to expel the party members from the party, in accordance with different situations it is necessary to report to the party's discipline inspection commissions at or above the county level for examination and approval. Under special circumstances,

party committees and discipline inspection commissions at and above the county level have the right to make direct decisions on the disciplinary actions against party members.

When giving such punishments as dismissal from inner-party duties, probation within the party and expulsion from the party to the members and alternate members of the CPC Central Committee and local party committees at all levels the decision must be approved by over a two-thirds majority at the plenums of the party committees where the defendants belong. Giving such punishments to the members and alternate members of local party committees at all levels must be approved by party committees at higher levels.

When members and alternate members of the CPC Central Committee commit serious offenses against the criminal law, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee should make the decision to expel them from the party; when members and alternate members of local party committees at all levels commit serious offenses against criminal law, the standing committees of the party committees at the same level should make the decision to expel them from the party.

210. How do we comprehend that under special circumstances party committees and discipline inspection commissions at and above the county level have the right to make direct decision on disciplinary actions against party members?

Answer: The Party Constitution stipulates that under special circumstances party committees and discipline inspection commissions at and above the county level have the right to make direct decisions on disciplinary actions against party members. "Special circumstances" here mainly refer to the following situations:

(1) If a case is unsuitable to be discussed at the general membership meeting of party branches because the work of erring party members is highly classified, it should be handled directly by the party committees and discipline inspection commissions at and above the county level. (2) If a certain party organization is unable to enforce discipline because its organization is paralyzed, its principal leading members committed mistakes or its leaders are directly related to the erring party members, related cases should be handled directly by the party committees and discipline inspection commissions at and above county level. (3) Dismissing members and alternate members of the CPC Central Committee and local party committees at all levels from their duties or giving them such punishments as placing them on probation within the party or expelling them from the party do not need to be discussed at the general membership meetings of their party branches; instead, such decisions should be made at the plenums of their party committees with the approval of over a two-thirds majority. (4) When some important cases are directly filed with the party committees and discipline inspection commissions at and above the county level, they do not need to be discussed at the general membership meetings of the party branches where erring party members belong; they can be handled directly by the party committees or discipline inspection commissions which accept the cases.

211. Can party discipline inspection commissions at the higher levels annul or change the decisions on party members adopted by party committees or discipline inspection commissions at lower levels if such decisions are wrong?

Answer: Party discipline inspection committees at higher levels have the right to inspect the work of discipline inspection commissions at lower levels and to approve and change their decisions on cases. If a decision of a discipline inspection commission at a certain level has already been approved by the party committee at the same level, it cannot be changed without the approval of the party committee at the next higher level. If party committees and discipline inspection commissions at lower levels have different opinions on the decisions of discipline inspection commissions at higher levels, they are allowed to bring them up or reserve them, but they must resolutely obey these decisions.

212. What happens if a discipline inspection commission has different opinions on the decision of the party committee at the same level when handling a certain case?

Answer: The Party Constitution stipulates that if local party discipline inspection commissions at all levels have different opinions on the decision of the party committees at the same level when handling a certain case, they can ask the discipline inspection commissions at the higher level for re-examination; if party discipline inspection commissions discover that party committees at the same level, or their members, violate party discipline and state law and refuse to solve their problems or fail to come up with correct solutions, the discipline inspection commissions have the right to appeal to the discipline inspection commissions at the higher level and request assistance in handling the cases.

213. What happens if party branches disagree with the party committees at the higher level when meting out the party's disciplinary actions against party members?

Answer: When taking disciplinary actions against party members who have violated party discipline, there may be differences of opinions between party branches and the party committees at the higher level. Such differences are usually caused by the following situations: (1) The information on the facts is unclear and inaccurate and each party draws conclusions on the basis of its own information. (2) They disagree on the nature of mistakes. (3) They disagree on the punishments. Under these circumstances, except for emergency cases which must be handled immediately, they can put off making the decision temporarily. They should make further efforts to conduct thorough study and investigations, strive to gain a complete understanding of the facts, extensively solicit opinions from all fields and, in accordance with the facts of the mistakes and party policies, conduct in-depth discussions to eliminate differences of opinions and unify their thinking. On this basis, they should make a decision on the case. They are not allowed to put it off forever because of differences of opinions.

After conducting full investigations and study, if the information on the facts is clarified and the nature of the mistakes is determined accurately, the party committees at the higher level should make appropriate decisions. If such decisions are different from the opinions of party branches, party branches must resolutely submit to and carry out such decisions. If party branches have different opinions on the decisions of the party committees at the higher level, they are allowed to reserve their opinions, continue to reflect situations to the party committees at the higher level, make suggestions to them and ask them to reconsider the decisions. Before the party committees at the higher levels decide to change the decisions, party branches should carry out the decisions without conditions. They are not allowed to show any sign of disagreement in deeds, but they have the right to report to the party organizations at the next higher level.

214. Can two kinds of punishments be given to an erring party member at the same time?

Answer: When party members violate party discipline, party organizations should criticize, educate or take party disciplinary actions against them in accordance with the nature and seriousness of their mistakes. It is not proper to take two different disciplinary actions at the same time against the same party member for violating discipline. If the party member deserves a light punishment, it is not allowed to give him another heavier punishment; if he deserves a heavy punishment, there is no need to give him another lighter punishment.

When party members are placed on probation within the party, they cannot continue to carry out any leading duties in the party because they have lost their rights to vote, elect and be elected. Therefore, during the probation period, party members are automatically freed or dismissed from their leading duties in the party.

215. Is it necessary to annul the party disciplinary actions against party members after a certain period of time?

Answer: For those party members who have committed mistakes and therefore deserve party disciplinary sanctions, there is no such question as rescinding the original sanction no matter whether they have corrected their mistakes or not. Those party members who are placed on probation within the party should be allowed to resume on time their rights as regular party members if they have really corrected their mistakes after being tested in the probation period. However, this is not rescinding their sanctions; there is no need to go through the procedures for rescinding the sanctions.

Article 44 of the Party Constitution stipulates that central and local discipline inspection commissions at all levels "examine and handle relatively important or complex cases of party organizations and members who violated the Party Constitution, party discipline and state law and decrees and decide or rescind the sanctions for party members in such cases." "Rescind the sanctions for party members" here refers to the sanctions of mishandled cases. In other words, a sanction should be rescinded only when the

reexamination of the case proves that it is completely wrong because its basis does not tally with the facts. If the original sanction is correct, it cannot be rescinded.

When a party member commits mistakes, party organizations should take necessary disciplinary actions against him. The purpose in doing so is to safeguard the dignity of party discipline, educate him and others and retrieve the bad influence. If this party member corrects his mistakes in practice, party organizations should welcome and encourage him. However, it is not allowed to change the fact that he has committed mistakes because he has corrected them and the correction of mistakes cannot constitute a reason for rescinding the original sanction. If the original sanction for a certain party member is too light or too heavy, after reexamination, it can be changed into another more suitable sanction. Such a change is necessary but by no means should it be considered as rescinding the sanction.

216. Is it allowed for party members subject to party disciplinary actions to hold leading administrative posts?

Answer: Whether or not party members subject to party disciplinary actions are allowed to hold leading administrative posts should be handled differently in accordance with the different situations of such party members.

Party members subject to disciplinary warning or serious disciplinary warning can continue their original work if they used to hold leading administrative posts and were competent. Those who are not suitable to work in their own units can be transferred to work in other units. As for those who did not hold leading administrative posts and need to be promoted to certain leading administrative posts, it is necessary to judge them strictly by the fundamental requirements for leading cadres. If they have already corrected their mistakes, are outstanding in their performance and meet the standards of both ability and political integrity, they can be promoted to leading administrative posts; otherwise, they should not be promoted to important positions.

Party members subject to such sanctions as dismissal from inner-party duties, probation within the party or expulsion from the party should not be allowed to keep their original leading administrative posts. Those who are involved in serious cases or whom the masses have a lot of complaints about should not be allowed to hold any kind of leading administrative posts.

217. Is it necessary to take party disciplinary actions against all party members subject to administrative disciplinary actions?

Answer: It is not necessary to take party disciplinary actions against all party members subject to administrative disciplinary actions. For those party members whose administrative disciplinary sanctions are light and whose cases are not related to party discipline, there is no need to mete out party disciplinary sanctions; for those whose administrative disciplinary sanctions are heavy and whose cases are related to party discipline, it is necessary to mete out proper party disciplinary sanctions in accordance with the nature and seriousness of their mistakes. Those who have been

discharged from public employment in administrative departments must be expelled from the party.

218. Is it allowed for party members subject to disciplinary warning and serious disciplinary warning within the party to continue to perform their inner-party duties?

Answer: Party members subject to disciplinary warning and serious disciplinary warning within the party can continue to perform their former duties if they used to perform inner-party duties and are needed and competent in work; those who are not suitable to work in their own units can be transferred to hold posts in other units. If party members subject to the above sanctions are incompetent in work, readjustment measures can be adopted to assign them to other suitable jobs. This is normal transfer of work, not a sanction.

219. What do "inner-party duties" refer to in the sanction of dismissal from inner-party duties?

Answer: "Inner-party duties" here refer to various leading posts held by party members in party organizations at all levels and their work departments--namely, from the CPC Central Committee to grassroots party organizations and all work departments subordinate to them--including:

Secretaries, deputy secretaries, standing committee members, members and alternate members of party committees at all levels;

Chairmen, vice chairmen, standing committee members and members of party advisory committees, secretaries, deputy secretaries, standing committee members and members of discipline inspection commissions and heads of discipline inspection groups and inspectors sent out by discipline inspection commissions;

Secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of leading party groups;

Secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of party committees of state organs;

Secretaries, deputy secretaries, and members of general party branches and party branches;

Directors, deputy directors, secretaries general, deputy secretaries general, chairmen, vice chairmen, bureau chiefs, deputy bureau chiefs, office directors, deputy office directors, section chiefs, deputy section chiefs and equivalent leading posts in the organs of party committees;

Delegates to party congresses at all levels and so on.

220. What do party members do after their probation period is over?

Answer: According to the stipulations of the Party Constitution, party members can be placed on probation within the party for a period of 1 or 2

years, but no longer than 2 years, in accordance with the seriousness of their mistakes.

After their probation period is over, party members should personally apply to their party organizations for resuming their rights as regular party members. Their party organizations should convene general membership meetings of party branches to carry out discussions and make decisions in a timely manner and then report their decisions to party committees for examination and approval. Party members on probation within the party should be allowed to resume their rights as regular party members on time if practice proves they have corrected their mistakes. Their party standing should be reserved during the probation period. If party members on probation refuse to correct their mistakes and persist in their mistakes, they should be expelled from the party. With regard to those party members on 1-year probation who have not lost all communist qualifications but cannot resume their rights as regular party members after their probation period is over because of their poor performance in correcting mistakes, it is allowed for the general membership meetings of party branches to discuss their cases and decide to extend their probation period by another year with the approval of the organs which formerly examined and approved their cases. After 2 years of probation, if they still cannot meet the requirements of party members, they should be expelled from the party.

When a party member's probation period is over, party organizations should carry out discussions and make decisions on his case as scheduled. It is not allowed to play for time and extend his probation period in disguised form. The period required for party members on probation to resume their rights as regular party members and the extension of probation should all begin as soon as the probation period is over.

221. Is it allowed for party members on probation to resume the rights of regular party members ahead of schedule?

Answer: Whether party members should be placed on probation for 1 or 2 years is determined in accordance with the nature and seriousness of their mistakes. Such probation is necessary and beneficial to both individuals and organizations. Party members subject to such sanction should voluntarily accept the probation of party organizations. They cannot resume the rights of party members on time unless they genuinely corrected their mistakes and performed relatively well in the trial of the probation period. Party members on probation usually are not allowed to resume their rights as regular party members ahead of schedule. It is necessary to persist in handling their cases as scheduled. As for individual comrades whose performance is really outstanding and who have made special contributions during the probation period, their rights as party members may be resumed only after the resumption is discussed and approved at the general membership meetings of party branches and is also approved at the party committees at the higher level.

222. When does the probation period begin if a party member is placed on probation within the party because he is imprisoned to serve a relatively short term for committing certain unpremeditated crimes or other crimes caused by a lack of specialized knowledge and work experience?

Answer: After a party member is imprisoned to serve a relatively short term for committing unpremeditated crimes or other crimes caused by a lack of specialized knowledge and work experience, if he is placed on probation within the party on the merits of consistent good performance in the past and his true communist qualifications, his probation period should begin on the day he completes his term and is released from prison. This is because during the period of imprisonment, party members have stopped the party's organizational life; therefore, party organizations cannot directly monitor or communicate with them. Hence, only after they complete their term, are released from prison and take part in the organizational life of their party branches can party organizations place them on direct probation.

223. When a communist party member commits a crime and needs to be handled according to law, is it necessary to wait until he is expelled from the party and then arrest, prosecute and try him?

Answer: The "Directive of the CPC Central Committee on Resolutely Guaranteeing the Conscientious Implementation of the Criminal Law and the Criminal Procedure Law" which was issued in 1979 states: Communist party members and revolutionary cadres should play an exemplary role in observing and enforcing the law; everybody is equal before the law; procuratoriates independently exercise their right to prosecution according to the law; courts independently carry out trials and only abide by the law; and by no means should any privileges be allowed to override the law. According to the spirit of this directive, when party members violate the criminal law and need to be arrested, prosecuted and tried, judicial departments have the right to handle things according to the procedures stipulated by the law. It is not necessary for them to wait for the party to take actions before they take legal actions.

Party disciplinary actions against those party members who have violated the criminal law can be taken either before they are arrested and prosecuted by the public security and procuratorial departments (if the facts of crimes have already been investigated and verified) or after they are sentenced by the people's courts. This should be decided in accordance with the nature of the cases after determining the favorable time for handling cases. While handling such cases, party discipline inspection commissions should establish close contacts with related judicial departments to keep each other informed to facilitate making a timely and correct decision.

224. Is it necessary to expel from the party all party members who are subject to punishments of the criminal law?

Answer: Communist party members who have violated the criminal law and are subject to the punishments of the criminal law generally should be expelled from the party. Those who have committed serious offenses against the criminal law must be expelled from the party. However, adaptations can be made in the following circumstances:

According to the spirit of the "Stipulations of the CPC Central Committee on Handling the Issue of the Party Membership of Communist Party Members Subject

to Criminal Sanctions," which was issued in June 1954, and the related stipulations of the "Criminal Law of the PRC," if the Communist party members are sentenced to less than 3 years in prison with suspension of execution or if they are sentenced to custody, surveillance and other lighter punishments without being reprieved of their political rights, whether or not to expel them from the party depends on the seriousness of their crimes and their past performance, but they must be given party disciplinary sanctions. Counter-revolutionary criminals are not included in this rule.

If party members are imprisoned to serve relatively short terms for committing unpremeditated crimes or crimes caused by a lack of specialized knowledge and work experience, to be cautious and to treasure their political life they may not be expelled from the party if their past performance was consistently good and they are truly qualified for communist party membership. They may be given other party disciplinary sanctions. During the period of imprisonment, they should stop their organizational life.

225. What is the difference between "expelling from the party" and "clearing out of the party"?

Answer: When party members commit serious violations of party discipline or have serious problems, they will be given punishment of "expelling from the party" or "clearing out of the party" in order to enforce party discipline and purify party organizations. In this sense, there is no difference between the two. However, "expelling from the party" and "clearing out of the party" are given separately to different party members in accordance with the differences of the nature of their mistakes and problems. "Expelling from the party" is the heaviest punishment that party organizations can give party members for seriously violating party discipline. "Clearing out of the party" is an organizational measure against those renegades, special agents and counterrevolutionaries who have sneaked into the party. In this sense, there is a definite difference between the two. However, "clearing out of the party" is not a different kind of punishment aside from the five kinds of punishments stipulated in the Party Constitution. The two belong to the same kind of punishment.

226. Can party members be reinstated after they are expelled from the party?

Answer: Those who were expelled from the party for committing serious mistakes may be reinstated if they personally apply for party membership and pass the strict investigation of party organizations after they have gone through a long-standing trial, corrected their mistakes and become truly qualified as party members. Those who were cleared out of the party cannot be reinstated.

227. Can party members be elected advanced workers after being subject to party disciplinary actions?

Answer: The fact that a party member is subject to party disciplinary actions proves that he has committed mistakes in certain fields and does not have all the qualifications an advanced worker should have; therefore, he cannot be elected as an advanced worker shortly after he is subjected to party

disciplinary actions. However, party members subject to party disciplinary actions can be elected as advanced workers if they have truly gone through a fairly long period of trial, have corrected their mistakes in practice, have relatively outstanding performance, are supported by the masses and have become truly qualified as advanced workers.

228. How do we handle probationary party members if they violate party discipline?

Answer: Probationary party members, like regular party members, must strictly observe party discipline. When they violate party discipline, they should be handled differently in accordance with specific conditions: Some should be criticized and educated; some should have their probation period extended; and some should have their status as probationary party members annulled.

229. Is extending the probationary period or annulling the status of probationary party members a disciplinary action of the party?

Answer: Neither extending the probationary period of probationary party members nor annulling their status as probationary party members is a disciplinary action of the party.

Extending the probationary period for a party member is usually because this comrade is not fully qualified as a regular party member and it is necessary to continue to examine him. Annuling the status of a party member as a probationary party member is also usually because this comrade is not qualified as a party member after the examination of the probationary period. These cases and taking party disciplinary actions against party members for committing mistakes are two entirely different matters which cannot be mentioned in the same breath.

230. Giving such punishments as dismissal from inner-party duties, placement of probation within the party and expulsion from the party to members and alternate members of the CPC Central Committee and local party committees at all levels does not need to be discussed and decided at party branches--does this mean that such members are not subject to the supervision of party branches?

Answer: The Party Constitution stipulates that when giving such punishments as dismissal from inner-party duties, placement on probation within the party and expulsion from the party to the members and alternate members of the CPC Central Committee and local party committees at all levels, the decision must be made at the plenums of the party committees where these members belong with the approval of over a two-thirds majority. When giving the above punishments to the members and alternate members of local party committees at all levels, the decision must be approved by party committees at higher levels.

According to this stipulation, party branches have no right to make decisions on dismissing members and alternate members of higher party committees from inner-party duties, placing them on probation within the party or expelling

them from the party. However, this by no means indicates that these members are not subject to the supervision of party branches. All party members, regardless of the level of their positions, must accept the surveillance of the masses inside and outside the party. It is not allowed to have any special party members who do not accept the surveillance of the masses inside and outside the party. If a party branch discovers that a member or alternate member of the higher party committee commits mistakes, the party branch can report it to the higher party committee. If this party member deserves a warning or serious warning within the party, such punishments can be discussed and decided by the party branch where he belongs and approved by the party committee at his level. Or they can be directly decided by the party committee at his level and reported to the party committee at the highest level for approval. In accordance with the limits of authority in the management of cadres, such cases should be reported to party committees in charge to be put on file.

231. Can party members bypass the immediate leadership and present their appeals to the higher levels if they disagree with the party disciplinary sanctions imposed on them?

Answer: According to the stipulations of the Party Constitution, presenting petitions and appeals to and lodging complaints with higher party organizations, up to the CPC Central Committee, and demanding that related organizations give a responsible answer is a legitimate democratic right enjoyed by party members. If party members disagree with the party disciplinary sanctions imposed on them, they may bypass the immediate leadership and present appeals to the higher levels. Party organizations must conscientiously and responsibly handle or quickly transfer the appeal of party members. It is not allowed to withhold them or carry out retaliations. If the appeals of party members are correct and the original conclusions and punishments are really improper, party organizations should change or annul such punishments in a truth-seeking manner, make a decision in writing and report it to the party organizations which formerly approved the original punishments for approval. Higher party organizations have the right to change or annul the improper punishments meted out by lower party organizations. If the appeals of party members are incorrect, party organizations should carry out patient persuasions and education to help these party members improve their understanding and correct their mistakes. Those who really persist in erroneous views and willfully make trouble should be criticized and educated. Those whose mistakes are serious should be severely handled.

232. Is the decision on punishment valid if the party member refuses to write comments and sign his name on the statement of decision?

Answer: When party members receive disciplinary sanctions for committing mistakes, whether they agree or disagree with the punishment or whether they have reservations or not, they should all write comments and sign their names on the statement of decision in addition to expressing their views at party meetings and presenting appeals to higher party organizations. This is a procedure for enforcing party discipline. Stopping party members from writing their comments or signing their names on the statement of decision on their punishments or refusing to do so themselves are both wrong.

However, whether or not party members write their comments and sign their names on the statement of decision on their punishment does not constitute a condition for determining whether or not the decision is valid. The validity of a decision on punishment is determined by whether the decision itself is correct and whether it is approved by higher party organizations. If a decision on punishment totally tallies with the facts, it is very appropriate and has been approved by higher party organizations, it can become fully effective even if the party member subject to this punishment refuses to write his comments and sign his name. If higher party organizations prove through investigations that a decision on punishment is improper or wrong, it should be disapproved and made invalid even though the party member subject to this punishment has reluctantly signed and agreed to it. Such decisions should be corrected in a truth-seeking manner.

Chapter 14: Archives, Statistics, Letters and Visits

233. What are the contents and range of the work of cadre archives?

Answer: Cadre archives are historical records of cadres' personal experiences, ideology, moral character, professional ability and work performance and an important basis for understanding, deploying and using cadres. The work of cadre archives is an indispensable component of the party's cadre work and a prerequisite for implementing the party's cadre policies, for understanding people to assign them jobs commensurate with their abilities and for electing the wise and able. It is necessary to do a good job in the scientific management of cadre archives in accordance with the principle of unification and decentralized responsibility and with the requirement of the "Rules and Regulations for the Work of Cadre Archives." The contents and range of this work are as follows:

- (1) Taking good care of cadre archives--since they are party secrets, they must be strictly protected against fire, sun, moisture and moths and their absolute safety must be guaranteed by resolutely carrying out party and state security and protection systems;
- (2) Collecting, differentiating and compiling the data on cadre archives and strictly carrying out the filing system of the data on cadre archives;
- (3) Handling the procedures for consulting, borrowing and transferring cadre archives;
- (4) Registering changes in cadres' jobs;
- (5) Using archives to gain an intimate understanding of cadres to provide information for their deployment;
- (6) Doing a good job in preparedness against war in regard to cadre archives; and
- (7) Handling other matters related to cadre archives.

234. How can we do a good job in the work of cadre archives?

Answer: Doing a good job in the work of cadre archives is a requisite condition for doing a good job in cadre work and vital to doing a good job in the building of the cadre ranks.

(1) It is necessary to strengthen leadership over archival work. Party committees and responsible departments at all levels should conscientiously discuss, study and solve the major problems in archival work. Leading comrades of the organizational departments under party committees at all levels should keep abreast of the situations and problems in the work of cadre archives, set forth tasks and demands and carry out inspections and give instructions in a timely manner. Comrades in charge of archival work should voluntarily report to leaders on their work, ask for instructions and make constructive suggestions. The organizational departments of party committees at higher levels should strengthen investigation and study concerning the work of cadre archives, pay attention to summing up work experiences, guide, inspect and speed up the work of archival management in the vocational departments under their administration, exchange experiences, commend the advanced and spur the work of cadre archives to advance continuously.

(2) It is necessary to strengthen the building of the ranks concerning the work of cadre archives. Attention should be paid to selecting those party member cadres who have good party spirit and correct workstyle, can abide by party discipline and keep party secrets and are professional, competent and knowledgeable to take charge of archival work so this confidential work can be controlled by reliable people. In accordance with the scope of their work and the number of their archives, all regions and departments should assign full-time or part-time cadres to take care of archival work. Under general circumstances, for the archives of every 1,000 cadres, there should be a full-time cadre and for those units which are responsible for guiding the work in other units or which have storage rooms for archives, more cadres can be assigned. Units at the county level should generally assign full-time cadres to take care of this work. After such cadres are assigned, it is necessary to keep them relatively stable and avoid transferring them too frequently. This is to make it easier for them to familiarize themselves with their work, accumulate experience and make various improvements in their work in a planned manner. If they must be transferred due to the need of work, it is necessary to adopt the method of hiring new hands before transferring the old ones so to ensure a smooth transfer of work. As for those comrades who have been engaged in archival work for many years, are dedicated and content in work and have made achievements, it is necessary to encourage and commend them, show concern for them and take care of them both politically and in daily life.

It is necessary to strengthen ideological education and vocational training of archivists. They should be organized to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the party's principles and policies to enhance their political awareness, their concept of policies and their understanding of the significance of archival work. They should be educated to love their work, to study hard to gain vocational, scientific and cultural knowledge, to have a good understanding of "Archivists' Rules" and to abide by them strictly. They should be educated to study conscientiously and work hard to

do a good job in the management of archives and, at the same time, to familiarize themselves gradually with the contents of the cadre archives under their control to provide information for the study of cadre issues. Vocational training is mainly carried out in the actual work while trainees work, study and improve themselves in an organized and well-guided manner. It is also feasible to hold small or short-term specialized meetings and adopt the method of substituting training with meetings to carry out training. Where conditions permit, vocational training classes may also be held. Through training, archivists should be able to master step by step the fundamental knowledge of archival work, to accumulate work experiences, to improve their proficiency and to do a good job in their work.

(3) It is necessary to establish and perfect various systems and do a good job in the scientific management of cadre archives. The management system of cadre archives is an important guarantee for scientifically managing and using archives, maintaining the safety of archives and carrying out archival construction in an orderly manner. In accordance with the demands of the "Rules and Regulations for the Work of Cadre Archives," all units should quickly establish and perfect various systems concerning the collection, supplementation, compilation, filing, consultation, borrowing, safeguarding, security, examination, verification, transfer and delivery of archival data and completely reverse the chaotic situation of many years in which either existing rules were not abided by or there were no rules to go by.

For the convenience of work and management, cadre archives should be controlled by different levels and departments in accordance with the limits of the cadre administration. In other words, cadre archives belong where cadres belong. The archives of those cadres and workers who are not under the administration of party committees should be controlled by the personnel or labor departments of the units concerned.

Units at the county level or the equivalent of county level are grassroots units for the management of cadre archives. The organizational departments of all provincial, municipal, regional, prefectural and city CPC committees should strengthen inspection and guidance to do a good job in the management of cadre archives at the county level. Attention should be paid to carrying out research work concerning the scientific and technical management of cadre archives so as to enable cadre archives to meet the requirements of complete contents, concise information, unified standards and ease of use and to lay a good foundation for the scientific and modernized management of archival work.

235. How can we do a good job in the management of cadre archives?

Answer: Cadre archives are party secrets. Maintaining cadre archives and handling the procedures for consulting, borrowing and transferring cadre archives are important links in the work of cadre archives. To guarantee the safety of cadre archives and make them easy to find and use, conscientious efforts should be made to strengthen the management of cadre archives in accordance with the pertinent stipulations in the "Rules and Regulations for the Work of Cadre Archives."

(1) Careful safekeeping:

- a. Archive storage buildings must be sturdy, practical and clean. Security devices and safeguards against theft, fire, sun, moisture and moths should be checked constantly.
- b. All archives must be entered in registers or made into cards.
- c. The file number of archives should be verified once every 6 months. If anyone is wrong or misplaced, it must be corrected immediately. A comprehensive examination of archives should be conducted once a year in accordance with registers or cards. If anything is missing, it must be found immediately.
- d. Private possession of archival records on other people is strictly forbidden. Those who refuse to turn in privately possessed archival records on other people or who use such information to attack people should be handled severely in accordance with the seriousness of their cases.
- e. The cover, the catalog and the envelope of cadre archives must have unified standards and forms. From now on, they should be printed in line with the unified standards and forms prescribed by the Organizational Department of the CPC Central Committee in 1980.

(2) Doing a good job in consulting and borrowing:

- a. Units which need to consult archives should follow the procedures for examination and approval provided by related rules and regulations.
- b. Units in charge of archives should judge, by the purpose of consultation, whether or not they should provide the information and what kind of information they should provide.
- c. Cadre archives can only be consulted in the safekeeping units by party member cadres sent by the party organizations of the consulting units.
- d. Archives generally cannot be checked out. However, under special circumstances and with approval, they can be checked out. When borrowing archives, registering procedures must be followed strictly and the archives must be returned on time.
- e. Cadres are not allowed to consult or borrow archives of their own or their relatives.
- f. Organizational and personnel departments at all levels should provide cadre archives reference rooms, draw up points for attention concerning the consultation and guarantee that archival records are protected against damage.
- g. Consultants must strictly abide by the security system and the rules for consultation. They are strictly forbidden to alter, mark and switch archival records. They must not reveal the contents of archives to irrelevant personnel or the public. Violators should be criticized, educated or given disciplinary sanctions in accordance with the seriousness of their cases.

h. In accordance with these requirements and specific conditions, organizational and personnel departments at all levels should draw up detailed regulations concerning what can be borrowed, what can be approved and the registering and returning procedures for the cadre archives in their own units.

(3) Following strict transfer procedures:

- a. Cadre archives should be transferred through secret communication services. They are not allowed to be mailed or carried out by cadres in person.
- b. Organizational and personnel departments at the county level or the equivalent of county level can directly transfer cadre archives among them.
- c. The "Cadre Archives Transfer Statement" must be filled out carefully before the archives can be sealed and delivered as classified documents.
- d. Units receiving the archives should sign and seal the receipts after verification and return the archives as soon as possible. If they fail to return them in a month or so, the units sending out the archives should write them and urge them to return the archives so as to prevent loss.
- e. To transfer cadre archives quickly along with cadre transfers or post changes, close coordination and necessary contact systems should be established among the work of cadre deployment, assignment and dismissal and the work of cadre archives.

236. How can we do a good job in sorting out cadres' investigation records established during the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution"?

Answer: In the "Great Cultural Revolution" movement, Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" ruthlessly persecuted cadres and created large numbers of trumped-up, false and wrong cases. Each cadre subject to "investigation" had dozens, hundreds and even thousands of records; and many more cadres had investigation records although their cases were not placed on file. Most of these records are exaggerated, slanderous, groundless, repeated and useless; a few which reflect the true face of history can be used for reference in examining and understanding cadres or studying revolutionary history. Conscientiously sorting out these records is an important part of implementing the party's cadre policies in an all-round manner. It is of great significance to ending turmoil and restoring order, further eliminating the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four," correctly understanding cadres' actual conditions and arousing the enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres.

To do a good job in this work, it is imperative to uphold the principle of dialectical materialism, historical materialism and seeking truth from facts and adopt a highly responsible attitude toward the organization and the cadres to sort out the records conscientiously. All investigation records established during the "Great Cultural Revolution" must be carefully differentiated in accordance with different situations and properly disposed of in accordance with the following principles:

(1) Final conclusions reached by party organizations after reexaminations, important evidence relating to the conclusions and other records which can reflect cadres' actual conditions and are worth keeping should be preserved in cadre archives.

(2) Groundless self-criticism and confession reports written by cadres against their will should be returned to them (If individual reports cannot be returned because party organizations made remarks and comments on them, they can be destroyed by party organizations after explaining this to the cadres.)

(3) The original manuscripts of some cadres' records which are valuable to the study of party and revolutionary history but do not belong to certain units can be transferred to the units concerned to be preserved or disposed of.

(4) Other slanderous, redundant and useless records should all be destroyed.

Those records which need to be deposited in the archives of official documents should be handled in accordance with pertinent stipulations of the State Archives Bureau.

While sorting out these records, it is imperative to closely follow the procedures for registration, examination and approval. Those which need to be placed on file should be handled in accordance with the requirements of accurate facts, clear beginning and ending and complete procedures and be placed on file after they are approved. Those which need to be destroyed, transferred or returned to the cadres should be registered and disposed of after they are approved by the party organizations of the units that carry out the reexamination. Records should be destroyed in the presence of two or more witnesses.

237. What records should be placed on the personal files of cadres? What kinds of procedures are there?

Answer: In order for cadre archives to reflect the true personal features of cadres, the following records should be put on the personal files of cadres in accordance with the requirements of the "Rules and Regulations for the Work of Cadre Archives":

(1) Personal details of education and work experience, resumes, registration cards and other records on personal experiences;

(2) Autobiographies and autobiographical records;

(3) Records on cadre appraisal, school graduation appraisal and summary of work and study that is related to appraisal;

(4) Records on the examination and evaluation of cadres and assessment of specialized cadres (including work evaluation, assessment of inventions and technical renovations and the lists of theses and writings).

- (5) Conclusions or decisions on the examination and reexamination of cadres' past political problems, conclusions or decisions on redressing their cases, investigation reports, comments and remarks of higher party committees, major evidence used to support the conclusions on their cases, their self-criticism and confession reports, their opinions on the conclusions and decisions and records on major appeals;
- (6) Positions and applications for joining the CPC and CYL, comments on changing the status of probationary members to regular members and applications and approval for withdrawing from the party and the league.
- (7) Records on receiving rewards inside and outside the party (including scientific, technical and professional rewards) and honorary titles officially conferred by party organizations such as heroes, models and advanced workers;
- (8) Records on receiving sanctions inside and outside the party for violating party discipline and state law, decisions on examination, reexamination and rehabilitation, investigation reports, comments and approval of higher party organizations and cadres' self-criticism reports.
- (9) Reports on appointments and removals, registers of delegates to party and people's congresses, statements on examination and approval for the promotion of professional titles, academic degrees and academic titles, reports on the examination of people going abroad, statements of examination and approval for wage readjustments, registers of wage scales, and statements on examination and approval for leaving jobs to rest, retire and for quitting jobs; and
- (10) Other records that can be used by party organizations as reference such as personal summary reports on ideological progress, work and study and self-criticism reports.

Memorial speeches written by party organizations upon cadres' death, reports on the investigation and handling of unnatural deaths, and comments on the aftermath of such deaths should also be included in the personal files of cadres.

Records to be filed should be differentiated carefully. With regard to those which are classified as cadre archives and have complete information, if they need to be approved and sealed by party organizations or if they require the personal signature of the cadres, they cannot be placed on cadres archives until they obtain such seals or signatures.

All records classified as cadre archives should be handled in accordance with the "Procedures for Handling Cadre Archives." They are required to be differentiated carefully, classified accurately, arranged in an orderly manner, cataloged clearly and bound neatly. Those records which are not required to be placed on cadre archives must not be allowed to be filed.

238. Is it necessary to place the records on cadre observation in cadre archives?

Answer: Cadre archives are historical records on cadres' personal experience, ideology, moral character, professional competency and work performance. They are an important basis for understanding, selecting and using cadres. Whether or not to include the records on cadre observation in cadre archives should be determined in accordance with different situations. Those observation records which have been analyzed, studied and compiled comprehensively by party organizations or responsible departments should be included in cadre archives after they are officially sealed. Those records which have not been studied and compiled by party organizations or responsible departments such as conversation records, public opinion polls and briefing materials should not be placed on cadre archives; they can be filed separately by organizational or personnel departments. Without examination and approval of party organizations, nobody is allowed to sneak undesired records in cadre archives; violators should be held responsible for their acts and be handled severely.

239. What do we do with the archives concerning cadres who have left their jobs to rest or who have retired?

Answer: Archives concerning cadres who have left their jobs to rest or who have retired should be handled separately in accordance with the following procedures:

(1) Archives concerning cadres who are under the control of the central government and are at and above such positions as vice ministers of central and state organs as well as standing committee members of party committees, deputy secretaries of discipline inspection commissions, vice chairmen of advisory committees, deputy governors, vice chairmen of the standing committee of people's congresses and vice chairmen of CPPCC committees at provincial, municipal and regional levels should be preserved by the Central Organization Department; archives concerning members of democratic parties and non-party patriotic personages should be preserved by the Central United Front Work Department; and archives concerning other cadres who are under the control of the central government should be preserved separately by different departments and committees of central and state organs and by the organization departments of provincial, municipal and regional party committees.

(2) With regard to cadres who are not under the control of the central government, if they settle in the same place, their archives should be preserved by their former management or work units; if they settle in a different place, their archives should be transferred to the organization or personnel departments of the units which are responsible for the management of such cadres.

240. What do we do with the archives concerning cadres who have died?

Answer: After cadres die, their archives should be handled separately in accordance with the following procedures:

(1) Archives concerning cadres who are under the control of the central government and are at and above such positions as vice ministers of central and state organs as well as standing committee members of party committees, deputy secretaries of discipline inspection commissions, vice chairmen of advisory committees, deputy governors, vice chairmen of the standing committee of people's congresses, and vice chairmen of CPPCC committees at provincial, municipal and regional levels and archives concerning scientists, artists and professors who are famous nationwide and heroes, models and noted personnel who have made special contributions should be preserved by the same units for 5 years and transferred to central archives to be permanently preserved. Archives concerning other cadres who are under the control of the central government should be preserved by different departments and committees of central and state organs or by the organization departments of provincial, municipal and regional party committees for 5 years and then transferred separately to central, provincial, municipal or regional archives to be preserved for a prolonged period.

(2) With regard to those cadres in various departments and committees of central and state organs and in different provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions who are not under the control of the central government and whose positions are equivalent to the department bureau level, their archives should be preserved by their former units for 5 years and then transferred separately to central, provincial, municipal and regional archives to be preserved for a prolonged period.

(3) As for other cadres, their archives should be preserved by the organization or personnel departments of their former work units for a prolonged period; if such units are dismantled, their archives should be taken care of by the departments concerned at the higher level.

241. What do we write under the item of family origin and personal class status when filling out the form of cadre registration?

Answer: The "family origin" in the "Personal Records on Cadres" refers to the class status of one's family before he becomes economically independent or joins the revolutionary ranks. If one's family origin is changed by party organizations after investigation, he should write down the new class status; no one is allowed to change his family origin without the approval of party organizations.

"Personal class status" refers to one's social status before he joins the revolutionary ranks or becomes a state cadre. If one has many professions before he joins the revolutionary ranks or becomes a cadre, his status should be judged by the period immediately before he joins the revolutionary ranks or becomes a state cadre. The purpose of keeping records on "family origin" and "personal class status" is to help understand the class status of the family in which the cadres were brought up and the class status of the society where the cadres came from. Such records can only be used as a reference for understanding cadres, not a basis for promoting and using cadres. The major basis for promoting and using cadres is cadres' ability and political integrity.

242. What are the objective and function of the work of cadre and party member statistics?

Answer: The objective of the work of cadre statistics is to gain, through examining and analyzing statistical data, a comprehensive, timely, and accurate understanding of the number, quality and line-up of the cadres' ranks and the general situation of cadre work and to provide data for leading organs to understand the cadre situation, formulate principles, policies and plans for cadre work and study the reform of cadre system.

The objective of the work of party member statistics is to gain a systematic understanding of the basic situation of all party members and organizations throughout the country, to acquire timely information on the changes of party members and to provide comprehensive and accurate data for party organizations at all levels to study and formulate principles and policies for relevant work.

The work of cadre and party member statistics is a component of the party's cadre and organizational work and an imperative condition for doing a good job in cadre and organizational work. It has an important function of providing information for formulating correct principles, policies and plans for cadre and organizational work, forecasting the trend of development of cadre and organizational work and studying the theory of party building.

243. What major links must be stressed to do a good job in the work of cadre statistics?

Answer: The major basis for the present work of cadre statistics is "Several Suggestions on Strengthening the Work of Cadre Statistics" which was printed and distributed by the Central Organization Department on 28 August 1980. To do a good job in the work of cadre statistics in accordance with the requirements of this document, the following links should be stressed:

(1) Adhering to the principle that the work of cadre statistics serves the party's cadre work. In accordance with the need of the general task in the new period and the requirement that the cadres' ranks should gradually become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent, organization and personnel departments must determine the contents of the forms for reporting cadre statistics and promptly change and supplement those report forms which do not meet the requirement. At the same time, it is necessary to conduct comprehensive analysis of annual statistics, compare historical data and use figures to explain how things stand, to discover problems, to provide timely reference for leaders and to render better services to cadre work.

(2) Adhering to the principle of seeking truth from facts and guaranteeing the accuracy of the statistical figures of cadres. The statistical figures of cadres are important bases for formulating principles, policies and plans for the party's cadre work. Organization and personnel departments at all levels and cadres in charge of statistical work must adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts and guarantee the accuracy of the statistical

figures. To this end, it is imperative to establish and perfect the system of basic statistical data. Cadre and personnel departments of all grassroots units should begin to use cadres cards and rolls as well as registers for increasing and reducing the number of cadres, transferring cadres in and out of the unit, promoting cadres and training cadres. Cadre statistics should be consistent in regard to cadre personal situations, basic data and statistical figures. Cadres in charge of statistical work should fully understand the statistical reports in regard to the range, targets, computation methods and the meaning of indexes. They should carry out statistical work in strict accordance with the rules and they must not make willful alterations.

(3) Improving statistical methods and reducing statistical levels. To guarantee the timely acquisition of statistical data, it is necessary to create new scientific statistical methods and use advanced computation devices.

In order to reduce the statistical levels of statistical reports, cadres of the people's communes, villages, towns, neighborhoods, small plants, mines and other enterprises and establishments generally should be counted directly by the responsible departments of counties (cities) and districts in province-administered cities. Cadres under the administration of counties (cities) and districts in province-administered cities generally should be counted directly by the organization and personnel departments of counties (cities) and districts.

(4) Strengthening the leadership over the work of cadre statistics. Leading comrades of organization and personnel departments at all levels should include statistical work in their daily agenda and, in accordance with the needs of cadre work, assign and explain tasks to cadres in charge of statistical work in a timely manner, set forth demands on them and help them in their efforts to raise the ideological and political level and improve their proficiency. Responsible leading comrades should personally proofread and check on the figures which are to be reported to higher levels.

244. How can we do a good job in the work of party member and organization statistics?

Answer: The work of party member and organization statistics is closely related to policies and specialization. It must be carried out conscientiously in a highly responsible spirit with a strictly scientific attitude. Efforts should be made to do a good job in carrying out the work of party member and organization statistics concisely, accurately and quickly in accordance with the requirements of the "System of the Work of CPC Member and Organization Statistics" which was issued by the Central Organization Department in 1980.

(1) Doing a good job in basic statistical work. Party members' original registration is a basis for statistical work. Grassroots statistics reporting units at all levels must establish and perfect the original registration system. With regard to existing party members, it is necessary to initiate the extensive use of statistical cards or rolls and to ensure changes in the number of party members are registered promptly. Registration should include comprehensive items and accurate contents. It is necessary to strengthen the

management of original registration reports, verify them on a regular basis and lay a reliable foundation for statistical figures.

(2) Ensuring the accuracy of statistical figures. Statisticians must seek truth from facts, be conscientious and responsible and reflect the objective situation as it is. They should not assume, estimate or fabricate figures. To avoid to omission and overlapping of statistics, the following rules should be observed: a. When filling out report forms, all statistics reporting units must strictly adhere to the requirements of standard forms, rules, items and explanations. They are not allowed to make arbitrary alterations or revisions. b. Party member statistics should be based on party members' official organizational affiliation. Party members should be counted by the party organizations which they are officially affiliated with. Those party members who have gone abroad to study of work should still be counted by their former units. Those party members who change their organizational affiliation after 20 December should still be counted by the units where they formerly belonged. c. Those party members who are waiting for the assignment of work (such as army men transferred to civilian work and demobilized soldiers) while the statistics are being compiled should be counted by party organizations of the units responsible for their work assignment. d. It is necessary to provide necessary illustrations on certain situations and questions about the statistical figures. Such illustrations should cover the range of the statistics, changes in administrative divisions and some important situations in recruiting party members and reducing the number of party members.

(3) Doing a good job in the examination and verification of statistics. All statistics reporting and synthesizing units must conscientiously, thoroughly and comprehensively examine and verify the statistical reports prior to synthesizing and reporting them to higher levels. When examining and verifying such reports, in addition to conducting technical examination and verification of the computation of the figures, it is necessary to compare each item with the figure of the previous year and check each figure to see if it is logical so as to guarantee the quality of statistics.

(4) Reporting statistics to higher levels according to prescribed schedules. There are two kinds of reports--annual and irregular--on party member and organization statistics. The cut-off date for compiling the figures of annual reports is 31 December each year. The time period for compiling figures of reports concerning such changes as increasing and reducing the number of party members is from 1 January to 31 December. With regard to the organization departments of provincial, municipal and regional party committees, the organization departments of the party committees of organs under the direct control of the central government, the organization departments of the party committees of state organs and the Organization Department of the PLA General Political Department, annual reports must be turned in to the Central Organization Department before 15 February in the next year. As for the units under provincial, municipal and regional levels, the report time can be decided locally. The statistical time period for irregular reports should be decided in accordance with the needs in the work of party building. In order to guarantee the unified time for reporting statistics, it is necessary to reduce as many grassroots statistics reporting units as possible;

where conditions permit, statistics may be directly compiled by counties; and vast and outlying districts with poor communications conditions may properly move up the statistical time period if necessary.

245. What is the responsibility of organization departments in handling letters and visits? What are the boundaries of this work?

Answer: The major responsibility of organization departments at all levels in handling letters and visits is to conscientiously handle the letters and visits concerning the party's organizational and cadre work in accordance with the party's line, principles and policies and the directives of higher party committees on the work of handling letters and visits; to promptly report to leaders at higher levels on the situation and problems concerning letters and visits; to make suggestions on the improvement of work and to speed up, examine and guide the work of handling letters and visits in their own departments.

The boundaries of handling letters and visits by organization departments is:

- (1) Reflecting situations and problems in the course of implementing the party's line, principles and policies concerning organizational and cadre work;
- (2) Reflecting problems and suggestions concerning the building of leading bodies and cadres' ranks at all levels as well as situations and problems in the management of veteran cadres and the selection of young and middle-aged cadres;
- (3) Reflecting the work and workstyle of party organizations at all levels as well as situations and problems in the ideology, management and education of party members;
- (4) Handling the appeals of party members and cadres concerning the conclusions on investigations and the decisions on punishment;
- (5) Reflecting opinions and demands for recruiting party members, changing probationary party members to regular party members, altering party members' organizational affiliation as well as appeals concerning how organization departments handle party membership-related issues; and
- (6) Handling criticism, suggestions and inquiries about the party's organizational and cadre work as well as other issues that need to be handled by organization departments.

Letters and visits beyond the boundaries of the work of organization departments should be transferred immediately to the departments concerned in accordance with the principle of the division of authority. Those cases which need to be handled jointly by organization departments, organization departments should cooperate voluntarily and actively.

246. What issues do we need to pay attention to while handling letters and visits?

Answer: Handling letters and visits is an important work of the organization departments of party committees and government organs in charge of letters and visits. It is a channel for the party and government to contact the masses and keep abreast of the situation. Doing a good job in this work is of great significance to restoring and developing the party's good traditions and workstyles, developing democracy, correcting party style, bringing all positive factors into play and consolidating and developing the political situation characterized by stability and unity.

Attention should be paid to the following issues in handling letters and visits:

(1) It is imperative to resolutely implement the party's line, principles and policies, adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts and oppose bureaucracy, subjectivism and metaphysics. Issues reflected in letters and visits should be properly handled in accordance with different situations. All trumped-up, false and wrong cases created during the "Great Cultural Revolution" should be resolutely and conscientiously redressed and corrected; issues before the "Great Cultural Revolution" should be handled in strict accordance with the standpoint of historical materialism and related party policies; major issues revealed and reflected in letters and visits should be dealt with conscientiously after the verification of facts; and criticism and suggestions on work should be studied carefully.

(2) Letters and visits that can be handled directly by a certain unit, and this unit must handle them in a conscientious and responsible manner. It is not allowed to shift responsibility to higher or lower levels. Cases handed down by higher levels must be handled immediately. If a report needs to be submitted on the verdict of a certain case, it usually should be done within 3 months. If this case cannot be closed within this period, it is necessary to explain why and set a date for submitting the report on this case. Those who withhold cases that should be solved should be criticized and educated. Those who refuse to mend their ways should be dealt with severely. If cases are transferred to the departments concerned or lower levels, efforts must be made to check on them and urge them to handle the cases quickly. Organization departments at the county level should strive to handle more cases and transfer less.

(3) While investigating and handling the cases of letters and visits, it is necessary to become closely involved with the masses, carry out conscientious investigation and study and solicit opinions from all fields on an extensive scale, including the opinions of persons involved in these cases. When closing a case, it is necessary to ensure that the facts are clear, the evidence is proved, the determination of nature is accurate, the verdict is proper, the procedures are complete and the judgment can withstand the test of history.

(4) Visiting masses should be received warmly. Their opinions and demands should be carefully heeded, analyzed and differentiated objectively to avoid

bias and subjective assumption. No comments should be made hastily before the issues are clarified. Active efforts should be made to publicize party policies and carry out in-depth and painstaking ideological and political work directed against specific issues or people. Trouble makers among the petitioners should be handed over to public security departments to be handled in accordance with related rules and regulations.

(5) With regard to letters and visits that are to expose and lodge complaints against party members and cadres, if cases need to be transferred, they can only be transferred to the higher levels of the accused. It is strictly forbidden to transfer such cases to the hands of the accused. Sometimes, only the copies, not the original, of certain letters should be transferred. Sometimes the names of the writers and visitors should be erased.

(6) It is necessary to draw a strict demarcation line between trumped-up cases and wrong or unfounded accusations. Those who made up stories, concocted evidence and premeditatedly framed other people should be dealt with severely. Those who made wrong or unfounded accusations should be criticized and educated, but they should not be punished for framing others.

(7) Letters from those who are not content with reality should be handled cautiously. They should not be quickly disposed of as counterrevolutionary letters. If it is difficult to clarify the nature of certain contradictions for the time being, they should be first handled as contradictions among the people. Proven counterrevolutionary letters can be transferred to public security departments only after the approval of leaders.

(8) It is necessary to constantly study and keep abreast of the trend of development and changes in the work of handling letters and visits, pay close attention to new situations, discover new problems, strengthen comprehensive study and submit timely reports to leaders and higher levels. With regard to those common problems to which no policies and stipulations can be applied, it is necessary to conduct conscientious investigation and study, work out feasible solutions and report to party committees and the departments concerned at higher levels in a timely manner.

(9) When handling letters and visits, stress should be placed on implementing cadre policies, dealing blows at criminal activities in the economic field, correcting unhealthy tendencies and eliminating those who started out as rebels by closely following Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and the like, those who are seriously factional in their ideas and those who are guilty of beating, smashing and looting. First priority should be given to urgent, thorny and major cases including those important cases which remain unsolved in spite of multiple appeals. Conscientious efforts should be made to investigate and deal with these cases.

247. How do we handle cases of repeated letters and visits?

Answer: Cases of repeated letters and visits are created by many factors. It is necessary to conduct concrete analysis and deal with each case on its merits with great care.

(1) Organization departments and departments in charge of letters and visits should directly investigate and handle those problems that should be and can be solved by themselves and work out solutions on a one-by-one basis. Leading comrades should personally attend to major cases and use the method of going right down to the bottom to investigate and solve such cases on the spot. Organization departments should instruct the departments concerned to work out solutions within a limited time period for those problems which are not suitable to be investigated and solved directly by themselves.

(2) With regard to those problems which cannot be solved by themselves, organization departments and departments in charge of letters and visits should voluntarily and promptly consult with the departments concerned and work out solutions together.

(3) With regard to those people who refuse to accept the ruling although it has been proved to be correct through reexamination, it is necessary to reason things out with them and turn down their appeals.

(4) With regard to those people whose demands are basically reasonable but cannot be satisfied in accordance with current policies, it is necessary to explain the situation and carry out patient and painstaking ideological work.

(5) With regard to those who have been confirmed as troublemakers and who refuse to mend their ways despite repeated education, after conscientious verification, resolute measures should be adopted to deal with them severely.

248. What is the correct attitude toward anonymous letters of party members and cadres? How do we handle them?

Answer: The Party Constitution stipulates that party members have the right to "make legitimate criticisms of all party organizations and members at party meetings, make responsible reports to the party on the facts of law and discipline violations of all party organizations and members, demand that party members who have violated law and discipline be punished and that incompetent cadres be dismissed or replaced" and "to make petitions and appeals to and lodge complaints with higher party organizations up to the CPC Central Committee and demand that related organizations give them responsible answers." No organization or leading cadre is allowed to suppress or infringe on such a right of party members. Therefore, party members and cadres should reveal and report problems to related organizations in a conscientious and responsible manner. They should not use the method of anonymous letters so as to avoid causing unnecessary trouble to the organization. However, due to many reasons, using anonymous letters to reflect situations and report problems to higher levels is a constantly occurring phenomenon. Thus, when actually dealing with anonymous letters, one must be very careful. We should notice that some party members and cadres write anonymous letters often because the political life is abnormal in their units or because they are afraid of retaliations. Therefore, their letters should be conscientiously examined as long as their accusations are well grounded. By no means should their letters be ignored simply because they are anonymous.

Still less should they be regarded as "violating organization principle" and "engaging in conspiracy." At the same time, we must not fail to notice that out of certain personal motives, some furtive persons make groundless accusations and fabricate stories trying to frame those cadres they dislike. Due to this, anonymous letters must be handled with special care to prevent people with ulterior motives from using our negligence to fulfill their sinister ends. Those who use anonymous letters to make up stories to frame others or to carry out counterrevolutionary activities must be turned over to the departments concerned to be investigated and dealt with according to party discipline and state law.

249. How do we draw a line between frame-ups and wrong or unfounded accusations?

Answer: Most letters and visits concerning the accusations against party members and cadres are aimed at defending the interests of the party and the state by making responsible reports to the party and government on evil-doers, evil deeds and discipline and law violations among party members and cadres; whereas a few letters and visits are aimed to frame others.

Which belong to frame-ups? Frame-ups are those which use such dirty tricks as making up stories and forging evidence to deliberately frame party members, cadres or party organizations in order to achieve one's ulterior motives or to interfere with and undermine the smooth progress of party work.

Those unfounded reports and accusations or even wrong accusations which are caused by a limited understanding of the situation, a lack of investigation and study or by believing in heresay information should not be considered as frame-ups. When it is difficult to distinguish frame-ups from wrong or unfounded accusations for the time being, efforts should be made to follow the mass line, conduct in-depth and extensive investigation and study, carry out conscientious analysis and differentiation and draw a clear demarcation line between them after full discussion.

Those who made false charges against party members, cadres or party organizations should be dealt with severely and held for legal responsibility in accordance with the seriousness of their cases and the consequences caused by their cases. Those who made wrong or unfounded accusations against others should be criticized and educated.

250. How do we view the issue of party members submitting joint reports to higher party organizations to reflect situations?

Answer: According to the stipulations of the Party Constitution, party members may "make suggestions and proposals on the party's work," "make legitimate criticisms of all party organizations and members at party meetings, make responsible reports to the party on the facts of law and discipline violations of all party organizations and members, demand that party members who have violated law and discipline be punished and that incompetent cadres be dismissed or replaced;" when having different opinions on party resolutions and policies, they may declare that they have reservations under the conditions of resolutely carrying out party resolutions and

policies and report their own opinions to higher party organizations up to the CPC Central Committee"; and "they may make petitions and appeals to and lodge complaints with higher party organizations up to the CPC Central Committee and demand that related organizations give them responsible answers." Therefore, as long as they do not violate the above stipulations, party members and cadres are allowed to submit both individual and joint reports to higher party organizations to reflect situations. This can help higher levels understand actual conditions of lower levels and solve problems in a timely manner. It should not be considered a non-organizational activity.

However, a few people using joint appeals to frame others, impose pressure on party organizations and carry out conspiratorial activities must not be tolerated. Such cases must be verified conscientiously and dealt with severely; for serious cases, disciplinary action should be taken.

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